

THE EIGHTH REVEALS THE NINTH;
TRACTATE 6 OF NAG HAMMADI CODEX VI

A dissertation by
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presented to

The Faculty of the
Graduate Theological Union
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Berkeley, California

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This dissertation is gratefully dedicated to the Episcopal Church Foundation, and especially to President William A. Coolidge, Vice-Chairman Bromwell Ault, Executive Vice-President W. Nelson Bump, Vice-President Van S. Bowen, and to retired Vice-President F. W. Moorman (who rendered me personal assistance at a time of need). Without the help of the Episcopal Church Foundation, I could not have continued my studies.

Lewis S. Kelzer

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Preface

My interest in the Hermetic literature began in a seminar conducted by Professors Dieter Georgi and Herman Wastjen (Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley), in conjunction with the Corpus Hermeticum Project of the international Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti. It was here that I first came into contact with the Hermetic liturgy from Nag Hammadi, Tractate 6 of Codex VI. After working with the Hermetica for a year, I requested and was granted permission by Professor James M. Robinson of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate Schools, to work with the Coptic text of Tractate 6. With the kind assistance of Mr. Douglas Parrott, I was allowed to collate the textual transcription which Mr. Peter Dirkse had made. For this task I had before me both the UNESCO photographs and another private set.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor John Turner of the Institute (now teaching at the University of Montana), who guided me in my dissertation research, and to Professors Wilhelm Wuellner and Edward Hobbs of the Graduate Theological Union. Their never-failing willingness to be warm, encouraging and academically helpful has shown me that teaching is an art and discipline of the Spirit.

Abbreviations and Signs

A	Achmimic
A ₀	Achmimic (archaic)
A ₂	Subachmimic
B	Bohairic
Bauer	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</u> , trans. and adapted by W. P. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (Chicago, 1965)
Codex VI	<u>Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI</u> , M. Krause, P. Labib, (Glückstadt, 1971)
C. G. L. T.	Robinson, J. M., "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," <u>N.T.S.</u> 12, pp. 356-401
C. H.	The Corpus Hermeticum
Crum	Crum, W. E., <u>A Coptic Dictionary</u> : Oxford, 1962
F	Fayumic
Kasser, Compl.	Kasser, R. <u>Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum</u> (Cairo, 1964)
L. S. J.	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon</u> , H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, ed. H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1966)
Nock-Festugière	Nock, A. D., and Festugière, A.-J., <u>Hermes Trismegiste</u> , I-IV: Paris, 1945-1960
O	Old Coptic
S	Sahidic
S _a	Sahidic (Achmimic influence)
S _f	Sahidic (Fayumic influence)
S ₀	Sahidic (archaic)
S _v	Sahidic (vulgar)

Abbreviations and Signs
(Cont.)

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Lacuna in text

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Word(s) or letter(s) omitted in manuscript

Introduction

The discovery of Codex VI, Tractate 6, an initiation discourse of Hermes Trismegistus, among the Sethian and Valentinian monuments of the Coptic Gnostic library of Nag Hammadi raises many interesting problems for the scholar for Hellenistic religions. What is the historical and geographical provenance of the tractate? Is it, like so many of the Coptic Gnostic writings, translated from a lost Greek composition? What sort of religious tradition does it represent--sectarian community, school-tradition, occult "reading mystery?" What sort of theology, cosmology, anthropology and soteriology is implied in the text? How is the tradition of Tractate 6 related to other Hermetic traditions represented in the Greek and Latin corpus of literature, and how is the literature itself related?

Until the present discovery, knowledge of Hermetism has been limited to conclusions based upon interpretation of the Greek and Latin Corpus Hermeticum. Although scholars presume that it preserves literary monuments dating from the Hellenistic period, the Corpus itself is no more than a textus receptus dating from the medieval period. The only monuments actually contemporary with Hellenistic Hermetism exist in brief quotations from Greek writers. Tractate 6, then, has the same high significance for Hermetic studies that the discovery of Hellenistic papyri and codices had for New Testament studies. It provides, for the first time, an historical exemplar as both artifact and monument of Hellenistic Hermetism.

In order to answer the many questions raised by Tractate 6, it is necessary to undertake five sorts of labor. The first involves a study of the manuscript itself, and its transmission in the Codex. By carefully analyzing external and internal evidence, problems of dating, provenance and original language can be solved. A special paleographic study is demanded, since to the present time Coptic paleography of the early period remains somewhat uncertain. The dialect must be analyzed, in order to gain insight into the language of Tractate 6. This bears upon composition and transmission of the discourse. The question of composition itself must be considered in order to understand the source of the Hermetic tradition represented.

Next, a kind of "working translation" of the text must be provided for the reader, which succeeds (as far as possible) in setting forth translated Coptic and Greco-Coptic words (indicated in parenthesis as is customary) accurately in context, and within the line numeration to which they belong. Indices must be provided, and notes to the translation which clarify difficult or questionable sections.

The work on the present study was begun in 1970. At that time two sets of photographic plates of the text were available through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. Peter Dirkse of the Institute had made his preliminary English translation and collation of the text from photographs. The publication of a principal edition of Coptic text with German translation was still far off.

The principal edition of Coptic texts from Codices II and VI, edited by Krause and Labib, finally became available after most of the

present work was completed. It has been possible to examine Krause's collation of the Coptic text and his German translation. In the "Notes to the Translation" an account is taken of his work.¹

Once the lower criticism and annotated translation of Tractate 6 have been completed, and conclusions concerning date, provenance, composition and other characteristics of the text and language itself have been drawn, it is necessary to develop a literary criticism. Since the literary process represented by Tractate 6 may differ from that of the traditional Corpus Hermeticum, it must be examined from two standpoints: that of its context in Hellenistic religious literature, and that of its context in Trismegistic literature. The only method available which can be exercised with consistency is that of adducing literary, thematic, form- and redaction-critical parallels. From an evaluation of these parallels, it is possible to illuminate hermeneutical and phenomenological points in the interpretation of Tractate 6.

Having investigated the literary parallels and drawn conclusions

¹There are three points at which I have decided to follow Krause's collation instead of my own. Since I had only photographs to examine while he had the codices themselves, his judgment is to be preferred regarding certain kinds of textual restoration. These are: 1. the original numeration of lines on a given page; and, 2. blurred or indistinguishable letters in certain words.

On pages 53, 54, 55 and 56 of the Coptic text Krause was able to find evidence for one or two more mutilated lines than I had seen. Since his edition of the text becomes standard, I have conformed all my indices and citations of the text to his numeration.

In two cases I have accepted Krause's collation of a word which was too blurred for me to have confidence in my own collation from photographs. These are at 56.16, where his finding of ΠΕΤCOTH seems much better and more parallel to the context than mine of ΠΕΤCΘΠC; and in 61.2, where his restoration of T(E)2AN is clearly correct, as opposed to the ungrammatical form which seemed to appear.

or set forth hypotheses for the exegesis of both philosophical and experiential aspects of the text, a summary evaluation of the Hermetic tradition associated with Tractate 6 can be undertaken. Our tractate is found to have closest relations to a certain segment of the Greek Hermetic literature. Its theology, cosmology, anthropology and soteriology can be outlined.

Finally, the significance of Tractate 6 for Hermetic studies must be sketched, since the Hermetic tradition of this monument differs radically from what scholars would expect, given the more recent conclusions of Nock, Festugière, Van Moorsel and others. The earlier views of Reitzenstein, Schaeder and even Mead, which have by and large fallen into rejection, must be given a new airing. It is possible that the extant Greek and Latin Corpus Hermeticum, upon the evidence of which all scholarly conclusions have previously rested, may have been far more Platonized in transmission than had been realized.

PART I

The Manuscript

At the present time there are several problems facing scholars who wish to research the Nag Hammadi Coptic manuscripts. The most serious problem is the unavailability of the material, whether as photographic plate, Coptic text or translation.¹ Another problem related to this is the paucity of carefully documented information concerning the individual codices, such as centimeter measurements of the pages, descriptions of binding, stitching and other relevant details. Furthermore, because so little of the material has been made public, scholars who have managed to gain access to unpublished texts are honor-bound to withhold many of their own observations and discoveries until first-publications have appeared, and yet (as Robinson points out)² by the end of 1966 no more than 9.5% of the total Coptic Gnostic library had been published. Finally, cataloguing of the codices and tractates has been carried out in four independent systems, those of Doresse, Puech, Labib, and Krause. James Robinson of the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity has adopted Krause's system (C. G. L. T., pp. 380-401), and I follow this enumeration because it has already come into general use in the United States, and

¹ See James M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," New Testament Studies 12, pp. 356-401--hereafter cited C. G. L. T. He recounts the arduous history of the discovery and collection of the library, pp. 356-365, as well as pertinent information concerning publications, publication rights, photographic materials, literary-historical import, archaeological and paleographic details and cataloguing, pp. 372ff.

² *ibid.*, p. 365

with the publication of Robinson's textual project will undoubtedly become standard.

In the case of Codex VI, two sets of photographs are in the possession of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. One set is complete for the Tractate 6, but is of rather poor quality, often underexposed. The other set of photographs was made under the auspices of UNESCO and is of much better quality. Unfortunately, however, the UNESCO set lacks plate 62.18-33 of Tractate 6.

The long awaited principal edition of the Coptic text of Codex VI has finally appeared.¹ Because of the imminence of this publication during the period I was working with Tractate 6, it was decided to exclude my transcription of the Coptic text from this work in favor of an English translation. Critical points of comparison with the edition of Krause and Labib are given consideration in the notes to this translation.

¹Krause, M., Labib, P. Gnost. u. etc., hereafter cited as Codex VI.

The Codex

In 1959, Codex VI was assigned Coptic Museum Inventory Number 10546.¹

Krause's numeration, Codex VI, refers to the Codex VI of Doresse, in The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion (London, 1960).² Puech, however, numbers this Codex XI.³ Often, then, the codex is cited as VI (XI).

In the earlier publications of Doresse and Puech reference was usually made to individual tractates by Arabic numerals 1-49 (48). This was before it became apparent that more tractates were to be isolated, and our Tractate 6 of Codex VI was designated as part of several other treatises (Doresse was unclear): 23 plus 25a; 44-45a. Scholars have returned to a reference system using the original pagination of the codex, however, in which Tractate 6 runs from 52.1 through 63.32.

The only published source of information about Codex VI is Krause's and Labib's Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

¹Complete catalogue information is to be found in Robinson's C. G. L. T., pp. 397-399.

²Hereafter cited as Secret Books.

³In "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte (Premier inventaire et essai d'identification)," Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum, (1950), pp. 91-154—hereafter cited as Les nouveaux écrits.

4

Abteilung Kairo, Koptische Reihe 1) (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 24-27.¹

According to this, the codex consists of 19 papyrus sheets folded in the middle to produce 76 pages which are numbered. At the end of Tractate 8 (65-78) two pages are missing and another whole papyrus sheet has been added, making another two pages at the beginning and the end of the codex, and bringing the total page numeration to 80. The first page of the codex is without a number, and the last leaf of two pages is numbered 77 and 78. It is not clear whether the first page is meant to be a supplementary title page or something else.

The fibers of the recto of the first leaf and the odd-numbered leaves from 1-37 extend vertically, but of the verso even-numbered leaves 2-38 extend horizontally. Odd-numbered leaves 39-77 are bound horizontally, and even-numbered leaves from 40-78 are bound vertically.

As in codices IV and V, the Coptic page numbers for the odd-numbered pages appear in the upper right-hand corner, while those for the even-numbered pages appear in the upper left-hand corner. The numbers are bounded above and below with a horizontal stroke, and appear unutilated only on pages 12 and 60-66.

The entire Codex VI is protected with the leather binding in which it was found, with the exception of leaves 1-12, which Viktor Girgis has preserved in plexiglass panes.²

¹Hereafter cited as Die drei Versionen.

²Professor James Robinson has further explained the original condition of the leather binding around Codex VI in his unpublished paper, "Inside the Front Cover of Codex VI," which I received in Xerox from the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. It is dated December 30, 1971. In this paper Robinson demonstrates that the extant Nag Hammadi library

The height of the leaves measured on the average about 27 centimeters, and the width about 14 centimeters. No single page remains intact, however, though many lack only one letter, perforated by a tiny wormhole. Others are quite badly mutilated.

On the average there are some 18 alphabetical characters on each line, and about 33 lines to a page. The characters, as a body of text, stand as a block some 10.5 centimeters wide and 22.5 long. The handwriting is neat and skilled, and resembles closely that of codices IV, V, VIII and IX. Puech (Encyclopédie Française, fasc. 19.42-10) dates the Codex VI at the end of the 4th century, but Krause and Labib doubt the possibility of accurate dating.

Most of the tractates are in Sahidic with slight Achmimic and Subachmimic traits, although Tractate 4 evidences heavier dialectal variation.

Codex VI contains the following tractates:

1. (1.1-12.22) "The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles"
2. (13.1-21.32) "The Thunder: Perfect Mind"
3. (22.1-35.24) "Authentic Teaching"
4. (36.1-48.15) "The Perception of Thought: The Concept of the Great Power," or, "The Concept of Our Great Power"
5. (48.16-51.23) Tractate without Title

consists of twelve codices, rather than thirteen, with the Trimorphic Protennoia excised from a ~~now~~ extant Codex XIII and preserved inside the front cover of Codex VI. Beyond this some parts of a Codex XII survive, but have been destroyed in modern times, just as part of Codex I have been lost. Thus the library, as extant, consists of eleven codices, fragments of a twelfth, and the carefully preserved tractate on the Trimorphic Protennoia which was buried inside the cover of Codex VI after being removed from another codex which was lost in antiquity.

6. (52.1-63.32) "The Eighth Reveals the Ninth," or, Dialogue between Hermes Trismegistus and Tat

7. (63.33-65.7) "This is the Prayer that they Spoke"

(65.8-14) scribal note

8. (65.15-78.43) portion of the Hermetic Asclepius

Tractate 6, with which we are concerned, is one of the two Hermetic treatises in the library. It records an initiation with many parallels to that of the Greek Corpus Hermeticum XIII, and to it the prayer of Tractate 7 has been appended. Doresse originally divided the treatise into Tractate 23, which he thought ended at about 56.24, Tractate 24 ending at 58.14, and Tractate 25 which is confused with the others.

Paleography

The problems in Coptic paleography are longstanding and very difficult. A lack of securely dated materials previous to the Arabic invasions creates great uncertainty in the paleography of the first four or five centuries of Coptic literature, so that exact dating of early documents is nearly impossible.¹ Robinson concludes (C. G. L. T., p. 372): "The present state of Coptic archeology and paleography in general and specifically with regard to the Coptic gnostic library is not far enough advanced to provide final exactitude. The general impression is that the codices date from about the fourth century and that they were buried some time around A.D. 400."

Furthermore, it is not clear exactly when Coptic characters themselves came into use, and there has been much controversy about the earliest dialects. Till (Kopt. Gram., pp. 29-39) describes the process as one in which Christian, Gnostic and Manichaean documents were translated first into Sahidic from the 3rd century, then into other dialects such as Achmimic and Subachmimic by the 5th century. From this point Bohairic came into use, surviving in ecclesiastical language through the medieval period.

¹An excellent summary of the problems of paleography and archeology is to be found in Robinson's C. G. L. T., pp. 365-372. He reminds us of Till's warning (Evang. aus den Nilsand, pp. 156f.) that Coptic dating in terms of Greek manuscripts produces too early datings. Robinson, like Krause and Till, is willing to speak only generally of a date in the 4th century.

The first attempt to date the Nag Hammadi library was made by Doresse (Vigiliae Christianae, III, 1949, pp. 131f.). He recalled that Athanasius' condemnation of heresy was read in Coptic in the monasteries of that area in A.D. 367, and concluded that this event was the decisive factor which motivated the burying of the library. He pointed out that while Pachomian monasticism was developing at the time, its literature records no conflicts with Gnostics.

Doresse stated that the Sahidic of Nag Hammadi was the most archaic he had yet seen. Several instances of ambivalent variation within a manuscript between Coptic consonant-equivalents and Greek consonants indicated a very early date. In subsequent publications he chose slightly later dates, since his estimates had provoked a barrage of criticism from Coptologists. Doresse also, as Robinson mentions (C. G. L. T., p. 371), had assigned Codex II the earliest date, and located the first hand of Codex I at around A.D. 400, yet identifying the hand of XI.1 as quite early (end of 3rd century) and identical with the second hand of Codex I. This inconsistency would suggest that the second part of Codex I was written a century before the first! Krause (MDAIK, XIX, 1963, p. 111) refused to accept this impossibility, but has pointed to a method of dating which may prove fruitful. Robinson explains (C. G. L. T., pp. 371-372): "Codex I was begun by one scribe, continued by a second, then completed by the first. This makes these two scribes more or less contemporary. The first scribe also wrote Codex X, the second scribe in turn wrote the first part of Codex XI. Thus Codices I, X, and the first half of XI are related, united by two other significant traits: they alone

are not in Sahidic, but rather in an unusual form of Subachmimic; and they alone have a ratio of height to width of at least two to one, i.e., they stand out in the library as relatively tall and thin. Now the last half of Codex XI, left blank by the two scribes discussed thus far, was completed in Sahidic by a further scribe who also wrote Codex VII. Thus, rather than putting the Jung Codex (I) last, as does Doreasse, one must put it contemporary with or prior to at least some of the Sahidic material." There are also a few legal documents from older papyri glued inside the cover of Codex VII to strengthen it, which may give a better basis for dating when removed and studied, as Robinson further says.¹

In the case of Codex VI, which Krause (MDAIK, IXI, 1963, p. 110, n. 19) says to be in the same hand as Codices IV, V, VIII and IX, Robinson is optimistic about the resemblance to the hand of BM Or. 7594 (#3 in Cramer's photographic tables, Koptische Paläographie, Wiesbaden, 1964). This manuscript can be dated with certainty between A.D. 330 and 350 on the basis of its colophon, and provides an important point of reference.

Equally important is the note added by the copyist of Tractate 6, Codex VI: "Only (μὲν) this treatise (λόγος) of his [Hermes?] have I copied. For (γάρ) many of his have come into my hands. I have not copied them thinking they have come into your [pl.] hands. For (καὶ γάρ) I hesitate (δισταδεῖν) to copy these for you [pl.] because, perhaps, they have come into your [pl.] hands, and the matter may weary you [pl]. For (ἐπεὶ γάρ) the treatises of that one which have come into my

¹Prof. John Turner of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, now at the University of Montana, informs me that two legal receipts provide the dates A.D. 339 and 342.

hands are numerous."¹

This provides clues not only to the origin and purpose of Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX, but to the entire library. The scribe was transcribing, not translating, Gnostic and Hermetic documents for a private collection. Most scholars agree that the majority of Nag Hammadi tractates are Coptic translations of originally Greek manuscripts (Tractate 6 of Codex VI possibly excepted, as I shall try to show). This implies at least four stages in the development of the library: 1. the existence and collection of Greek Gnostic and Hermetic manuscripts; 2. the translation of these to Coptic; 3. the transcription of the Coptic manuscripts for the private collector addressed by the scribe of Codex VI; and 4. the storage or hiding of all the codices near Chenoboskion. Of Codex VI, Doresse observed, "This manuscript was evidently very much in use. Some feathers served as bookmarks between certain pages."² Evidently a fair amount of time elapsed between stages 3. and 4., so that the entire process of development indicates a greater antiquity to the literature than even an exacting paleography could show.

Finally, Tractate 6 contains a geographical reference which may be of value in dating. Robinson has clarified some geographical issues in C. G. L. T., pp. 365-370. He shows that better site-names for the dis-

¹I am indebted to Prof. John Turner of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity for this translation, which is far superior to that of Doresse, Secret Books, p. 143. He points out that it appears to him to have been written originally in Greek and, judging from the carefully filled-in equal-length lines, may not have been composed by the copyist of Codex VI.

²Secret Books, p. 143.

covery of the Coptic library would be Hamra Dom, or perhaps ed Dabba. Nag Hammadi and Chenoboskion (Sheneset) have become common identifiers for the discovery, but geographically irrelevant. Tractate 6 refers to Diospolis, which may be Diospolis Parva (modern Hu), the ancient regional capital, or Diospolis Magna, a name for ancient Thebes near Luxor.¹ Robinson speculates that Diospolis Parva is the location meant, and that we ought perhaps to refer to the Diospolis library, rather than the Chenoboskion library.²

Thus being fortified with pertinent geographical and archeological data, having examined some of the errors previously made in the paleography of the codices, let us see what direct textual evidence can be shown for the dating of the hand.

First it must be said that there were three paleographic studies upon which Dorese was dependent when he made his assertive claims to dating in The Secret Books, p. 141. These were: H. Hyvernat, Album de paleographie copte (Paris-Rome, 1888); E. Tisserante, Specimina codicum orientalium. Tabulae in usum scholarum editae 8. (Bonn, 1914); V. Stegemann, Koptische Paläographie (Heidelberg, 1936). Of these Stegemann's work was the most comprehensive, and Dorese apparently depended

¹C. G. L. T., p. 369; also cf. n. 3. Flinders Petrie excavated cemeteries on the opposite bank from that which Robinson supposes for the burial site of the library. See Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898-9 (London, 1901).

²C. G. L. T., p. 369. I would object that geographical evidence from the tractate itself reveals nothing necessarily about the location of the library, into which it was later copied, and to which it may have been carried a great distance.

upon it.¹ While these works did much to begin an orderly system of paleographic development on a gross basis, too little early Coptic material was known to obtain exacting principles. For example, Doresse declares: "The transition from the cursive style A to the book-writing style of class B is said by paleographic experts to have taken place during the fourth century."² Previous to this he has asserted: "The criteria of palaeography are, as we have said, the most reliable for the dating of manuscripts. They are all the more dependable here, where we can distinguish about nine styles of writing which represent, in continuous succession, clearly progressive degrees in the evolution of Coptic calligraphy--a sequence of stages that were already known."³

In fact, no such stages were ever reliably demonstrated, and Doresse's system is inconsistent even within itself. If anything, Doresse has inadvertently shown that the Subachmimic codices predate the Sahidic. The fact that the scribe of Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX writes his note excusing himself from further transcription in a Sahidic with very marked Subachmimic traits adds to the confusion.

Since Doresse attempted to paleographically date the codices, however, a new Coptic paleographic aid has been published by Maria Cramer: Koptische Paläographie, (Wiesbaden, 1964).⁴ Cramer presumes to date

¹Although in *The Secret Books* Doresse never credits his "paleographic experts."

²The Secret Books, p. 141.

³The Secret Books, p. 139.

⁴Hereafter cited as Cramer.

calligraphy only for certain centuries, makes no claim for the reliability of a change from cursive to book-writing style, and tries to supply accurate and early material both in samples and in photographic plates. A comparison of the calligraphy in Tractate 6 of Codex VI with Cramer's lists illustrates the inexactitude of paleographic dating, but also the amazing comparison with BM Or. 7594.

Søren Giversen, in Apocryphon Johannis (Copenhagen, 1963), pp. 34-40, has attempted to date Codex II on the basis of its single-quire format and his judgment of the calligraphic development as situated "after Ecclesiasticus (Louvain) and before Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594. An absolute dating places it as contemporary with Br. M. Pap. 1920 and therefore from 330-340, or more loosely from the first half of the fourth century."¹ The same criteria roughly apply to Codex VI. The great problem involved, however, is the question of whether enough uniformity existed in the first centuries of Coptic literature to warrant our attempting to date calligraphic characteristics within a half-century, as Giversen has done, on the basis of relative development from one stage to another. The fact that the calligraphy of Codex II seems to lie midway between the Louvain manuscript and BM Or. 7594 does not mean that the codex was written in the interim period, but at best that it was written in a scribal tradition midway advanced between the two. In Greek paleography, historical time and development in a scribal tradition can usually be assumed to coincide, so that dating can be quite

¹Op. cit., 40.

accurate within a given century. But in the case of early Coptic literature, where no cosmopolitan continuity existed between various scribal traditions and the script itself was innovative, calligraphic development can be assumed to be relative only to a specific scribal tradition or geographical location, especially in the various outposts along the Nile in Upper Egypt where Sahidic was spoken.

The fact, however, of the gross similarities between the Subach-mimic codices and the Sahidic codices of the Coptic Gnostic library gives us some hope for the possibility of relative dating within historical time. In fact, Doresse asserted that Codices II and VI were written in the same hand.¹ This style he called cursive, supple, unpretentious, as opposed to the more stiffly down-stroking style.

It seems to me, in view of the difficulties, that it is necessary to tabulate the calligraphic comparison of the hand in Codex VI to other early scripts. In the following pages I have done this for each letter and diphthong, where applicable.

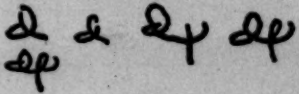
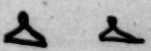
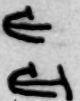
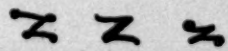
Several correspondences can be seen from this table, and others exist which are not tabulated because of omissions and defects in Cramer's lists. These I supply and correct in the following paragraphs.²

¹Secret Books, pp. 141-143. It is now recognized by such scholars as Krause, Puech, Robinson and others that Codex II belongs to a different hand than Codex VI.

²Because of limited samples, Cramer is not able to supply examples of all letters from all manuscripts. I have completed this in some cases by inspection of photographs, and corrected such defects as the two styles of Coptic A evident in BM Or. 7594, which Cramer neglects.

Table 1

Paleographic Similarities between
Tractate 6, Codex VI, and Cramer's
Samples in Koptische Paläographie^a

Coptic Letter	Typical Calligraphy (and in combination)	Similarities in Cramer ^b	Time Period ^c
A A4 AP		23;8;11;14; 15;16;19;20; 22;23;27	4 th 10 th
B		3;12;33;34	4 th 12 th 6 th
Γ		2a,b,c,d,e; 3;7;12	4 th 5 th
Δ		2a,b,c,d;7; 8;9;10;11; 12;13;14;15; 16	4 th 7 th
E EI		2a,e;3;8 2a,b,c,d;7; 10	4 th 5 th
Z		2a <u>et al.</u>	4 th 11 th
H		1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 8 th

^aOp. cit.

^blisted using Cramer's photographic plate numbers.

^cCenturies A.D.

Table 1
(cont.)

Coptic Letter	Typical Calligraphy (and in combination)	Similarities in Cramer	Time Period
Θ	Θ	2b,c;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 7 th
K	K K	1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 8 th
λ	λ λ	3;4;6 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 15 th
M, N	М N N	3;5;6;7 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 10 th
Ξ, ΥΞ	Ξ ΞΞ	1 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 15 th
Π	Π Π Π	2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 15 th
P, AP	P P P γ ρ	4;10;11;12 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 15 th
C	C C	2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 16 th
T	T T; T	flagged tau at end of closed syl- lable 1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th 16 th
OY, Y ΥΞ	OY OY OY γ Ξ	3;15;18;24; 27;41	4 th 6 th -16 th

Table 1
(cont.)

Coptic Letter	Typical Calligraphy (and in combination)	Similarities in Cramer	Time Period
ϕ	ϕ	1;2b,c;6	4 th
χ	χ χ	2b;6 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 7 th
ψ	ψ	1;2d <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 16 th
ω	ω ω	1;50;51;52; 53	4 th 14 th
υ	υ υ	1;2a;5;7;10; 11;15;19;21; 24	4 th - 9 th
ϣ, ϣ	ϣ ϣ ϣ	1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 7 th
ϛ	ϛ ϛ ϛ ϛ	1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 9 th
ϝ	ϝ ϝ ϝ	1;2b,d,e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 9 th
Ϟ	Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ	1;2a-e;3 <u>et al.</u>	4 th - 6 th
Ϡ	Ϡ	1;13;14;19; 24;26	5 th 10 th

Perhaps the most striking similarities exist between the calligraphy of Tractate 6, Codex VI, and Cramer's numbers 1, 2a-e, and 3. Number 1 is the Subachmimic Gospel of John manuscript discovered in 1923 near Assiut, now in the possession of The British and Foreign Bible Society, Papyrus Q, folios 49, 50, 81. It is listed as Tafel 1 in Stegemann's Koptische Paläographie, and dated by most scholars early in the 4th century. Numbers 2a-e are sample pages from Codices I and II, and 2d from Codex I. Number 3 is the British Museum Manuscript Or. 7594, Sahidic Dialect, which is able to be placed between A.D. 330 and 350 because of its colophon reference.¹ Tractate 6 evidences a calligraphic likeness to these manuscripts in the Coptic letters Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Κ, Ξ, Π, C, T, Φ, Ψ, ϣ, 2, 6.

However, the script of Tractate 6 is unlike Codices I and II in the letters A, B, λ, M, N, P, Y, W, W, †. In these cases the script appears to be either more cursive or more ornamental. Coptic A in Codices I and II, for example, seems to lie midway between a cursive style and an uncial style: . Here the stroke is upward, as in Coptic Δ: . In Codex VI, however, Coptic A is executed much as an English cursive capital "I": . The stroke is downward, then up, where often a slight break is apparent in the ascending motion, and back down again. This style of Coptic A is one of the two types visible in Cramer's photograph of BM Or. 7594, a type which Cramer does not reproduce in the paleographic tables but which nevertheless is quite visible

¹C. G. L. T., p. 372

in such a place as AY $\overline{\text{M}}$ in the middle of the 9th line counting up from the bottom (probably line 19).

The Coptic letters B, λ , M, N, Y (OY) all are likewise similar to the script of BM Or. 7594 as opposed to Codices I and II. In some cases they also resemble ornamented uncial script of a much later period. This is especially clear in the case of Coptic B, which resembles K with a horizontal bottom stroke ($\overline{\text{K}}$), and appears in the script of BM Or. 7594, then in a sixth-century manuscript, and not again until twelfth-century ornamental uncial manuscripts are compared. The curling, looping styles of Coptic M and Y have a similar development.

The same curling, looping script of Coptic $\overline{\text{M}}$, $\overline{\text{N}}$, $\dagger$, which does not appear in BM Or. 7594, is to be found in the very early cursive manuscript listed number 1 both in Stegemann and Cramer, the Gospel of John manuscript in the possession of The British and Foreign Bible Society. The same style is also found in much later uncials, although in the case of $\overline{\text{M}}$ no example is listed in Cramer after the Gospel of John script until the 14th century.

Coptic P of Tractate 6 is the only letter whose style is not represented in other fourth-century manuscripts, and the letters B, Y, $\dagger$ seem to be similarly unusual for early script after the 4th century, so that some anomalies exist in paleographic chronology, but these inconsistencies are inherent in the inadequacy of early Coptic paleographic materials.

As to whether the curling, looping style which characterizes the script of our tractate is a simple and early cursive form, or a later

ornamented form, the correspondences with the early hands of the Gospel of John manuscript and BM Or. 7594, as well as the small, simple unornamented character of our tractate and the codices related to it, provide good evidence that the hand is a primitive cursive style--one of the earliest known to us.

Furthermore, using what little paleographic criteria we have available, it is apparent that the calligraphy of Tractate 6, and thus Codices IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX, has great affinity to that of the other codices in the Nag Hammadi library, but also lies between the very early manuscripts, the Gospel of John and BM Or. 7594, with closest relationship to the latter.

If it could be found that the Gospel of John manuscript and the BM Or. 7594 had characteristics in common with our tractate and with each other, it would be possible to date our script before that of the other Nag Hammadi codices. In fact, no such thing is true. The scripts of BM Or. 7594 and the Gospel of John manuscript haven't these criteria in common. If anything, it must be said that on the basis of calligraphic evidence it is not possible to demonstrate that one particular script or segment of the Nag Hammadi library predates another. No clear progression can be shown using Cramer's numbers 1, 2a-e, and 3.

The dating of BM Or. 7594, then, can supply a general locus in time, but not a beginning or ending terminus. The available calligraphic evidence compels us to the conclusion that our tractate was written near the middle of the 4th century in Upper Egypt. The scribal note that "this is the only treatise of his I have copied" cannot mean our tractate is the earliest, because it appears midway in Codex VI. The note means

that it is the first Hermetic tractate which the scribe has copied, which implies that our tractate is later, not earlier. Furthermore, as we have seen, scholars such as Robinson and Krause tend to regard the script of Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX as slightly later than the hands of I, VII, X and XI, although there can be no certainty.

It is evident that the Nag Hammadi tractates are themselves of greater antiquity than 4th century, and it is not unlikely that our Hermetic Tractate 6 may belong to a period early in the 2nd or 3rd centuries. It seems unrealistic to push the date back much further in view of the generally post-Christian character of the rest of the library, and the close textual parallels to early Christian literature.¹

¹Cf. "Pray with all our mind and heart and soul," 55.10-13, "all our heart and soul and strength," 57.21-22, compare Dt. 6.5, Mk. 12.18, Mt. 22.37, Lk 20.27; "He brings rain upon everyone," 59.8-9, compare Mt. 5.45.

Dialect

A dialectal analysis of Tractate 6 provides insight into several stages of its transmission. Immediately, the dialectal characteristics must reflect the language of the scribe of Codex VI. Our extant manuscript will have been corrected and standardized.

In the case of Tractate 6, however, as opposed to the other treatises of Codex VI, the note of a scribe who transmitted it is also extant in 65.8-14. I have included a translation of the note in the previous chapter (p. 9f.). Although the scribe refers back to our treatise as the only one of Hermes that he has copied (65.8), the final tractate of the codex, which immediately follows, is a portion of the Hermetic Asclepius. It seems clear, then, that the scribe who composed the note of 65.8-14, was not the scribe of our extant codex. Thus there is an earlier stage of transmission discernable from internal evidence.

Was the scribal note composed in Greek and later translated into Coptic by the scribe of Codex VI or an earlier scribe? This is possible, but cannot be proven. The note evidences certain Greek syntactical characteristics (men, gar, kaigar, spei gar) and words (logos, distazein), but as I demonstrate in the following chapter on the original language of Tractate 6, Greek grammatical and syntactical peculiarities were assimilated into Coptic usage at an early stage of the language. Again, it might be argued that Coptic MEIIAK could represent a purification of Greek mē pōs, or the late "Egyptian-Greek" form TONW (cf. Crum, 418b) a purification of Greek panu or polu. If this were true, however, we

would expect a consistent application of purification in Tractate 6. Instead, however, Coptic and Greek loan-words seem to exist side by side (logos and ⲙⲁⲕⲉ, nous and ⲙⲉⲉⲃⲉ, et al.). The early date of the codex as well mitigates against such a process of linguistic purification, since it is characteristic of a later stage in Coptic. In this earlier period, as Girgis has pointed out,¹ the existence of many Greek loan-words in the text is evidence for Coptic, rather than Greek, composition.

Thus we can discern a stage in transmission before the final transcription into Codex VI. In this earlier stage the scribe is copying esoteric treatises for a group of employers, to whom he always refers as "you (pl.)." The employers might have been members of a synodos (or guild) interested in such literature, or librarians for heresiologists. But whoever the employers might have been, it seems significant that the treatises were copied for some sort of group, rather than an individual. The scribe also mentions that numerous Hermetic treatises were available, and that he wouldn't bother to transcribe (or translate?) any more than the present one since he is certain his employers already possess them. This emphasis upon the importance of Hermetic thought previous to the 4th century is valuable. Finally, it can be ascertained that in this stage of transmission, Tractate 6 was assumed by the scribe to include the section running from 63.33 to the scribal note, beginning with the heading, "This is the prayer which they spoke."² Judging from

¹W. A. Girgis, "Greek Loan Words in Coptic," Bulletin de la Société de Archéologie Copte, vol. 17 (1963-64), p. 71.

²The prayer is known also through Papyrus Minaut, and appears to have enjoyed a certain amount of circulation.

the redaction of C. H. I, it was not unusual to append a prayer to an Hermetic document, which later would be regarded as part of the document itself. At this stage of transmission, then, the tractate itself had undergone some redaction and addition.

Perhaps, then, by examining the dialectal characteristics of Tractate 6, we might uncover some of the mystery of its transmission and provenance.

The analysis follows the following format: an overall evaluation of the dialect and language, a listing of unusual Sahidic characteristics shared in other dialects, non-Sahidic characteristics with Sahidic counterparts in the text, unusual Sahidic characteristics without Sahidic counterparts in the text, non-Sahidic characteristics without Sahidic counterparts in the text. Having established dialectal characteristics of the present manuscript, they will be scrutinized for phonological, orthographical and scribal explanations which might illuminate the stages of transmission to which various processes might be attributed.

A. General Sahidic Characteristics of the Dialect

The text of Tractate 6, like the rest of Codex VI and many of the other Nag Hammadi codices, is basically Sahidic. Generally its grammar follows the description in Till's Koptische Grammatik, and its vocabulary follows the forms listed as Sahidic in Crum's Coptic Dictionary. The Subachmamic influence, and the general influence of Upper Egypt, is noticeable, but much less so than in such a treatise as the Epistle to Rheginus of the Jung Codex.

Since it is necessary to use dialectal types listed in Crum's Coptic

Dictionary, as supplemented by Kasser, the dialect of Tractate 6 must be characterized as basically Sahidic with mixed influences generally associated with Upper Egypt and, indeed, the very location of the Nag Hammadi library itself. No special characteristics of particular non-Sahidic dialects occur (Achimic 2; the liquid forms of Fayyumic; the spirantized forms of Bohairic; the L of Kasser's P [Proverbs] dialect). Generally, the non-Sahidic characteristics of our tractate are allied with what is presently known of Subachimic, so that we might symbolize the dialect as S_{a2}, Sahidic with Subachimic influence.

B. Unusual Sahidic Characteristics Shared in Other Dialects

1. The verb APE2 (2APE2): 58.30; SB.
2. The archaic relative prefix EP-, which appears in one section only, subject = antecedent and WUWIE as the verb: 54.8, 14.15, 25.27; SA₂.
3. The qualitative KARAEIT (PO): 58.24; SA₂.
4. The adverb †NOY (TENYO): 52.23; 53.23; 54.15; 60.1(?); 61.24; SAA₂. The form TENYO appears once in 60.4.

In this category the common elements are always Sahidic and/or Subachimic.

C. Non-Sahidic Characteristics with Sahidic Counterparts in the Text

1. The vowel A- appears for Sahidic E- in certain grammatical contexts. As in AA₂₀, the preposition A- (E-), or this form of the nota accusativi, is sometimes used: 53.28, 34; 56.17; 59.14, 16; 60.3; 61.26. More usually E- appears, especially after the verb

NAY and when in sequence with other prepositions, such as E2OYN

E-: 52.4; 53.33; 56.27; 57.6,31; 58.5,6,13; 59.27,29,31; 60.15,16; 61.21,28; 63.11,12.

In the case of the preposition prefixed to the so-called Causative Infinitive, there is ambivalent usage. ETPE- occurs at 55.16; 56.23; 57.5; 59.14; 60.12 (ET<P>A-); 63.23. ATPE- occurs at 55.19 61.2, and 62.2, and ATPI- at 53.34.

2. The masculine noun MAEIE, A₂, appears at 61.2. Earlier at 57.28 the form ME is used. It is possible that the word at 57.28 is the feminine "truth." No article appears to solve the difficulty. In the context of "kissing," however, it seems best to assume that the word is the same as MAEIE (ME), "love."

3. The feminine noun MIE, A, is used in 53.22, while the normal Sahidic form ME appears at 54.7.

4. The prepositional form NHEI, associated with the dialects S₁FO, is used at 52.20; 54.15; 58.8. At all other places the more usual Sahidic NAĪ is used (52.22; 54.25 et al.).

5. The form XEI, a rare spelling which has appeared previously only once in the Chester Beatty papyrus of Romans and was classified as A₀ by Kasser in his supplement to Crum's Dictionary, is used at 52.14. The normal form XI is written at 55.7,18; 57.8.12. 18; 58.2 (?); 59.24,26; 61.1,6. This may be simple itacism.

6. The form XAME at 54.32, hitherto unattested for Sahidic X₁ME or X₂ME which appear throughout (52.29; 53.12,12,33; 54.9,16,25 et al.). See translation note 6 for a discussion of

the problem posed by these words. The form χAME seems phonetically allied to upper Egyptian dialects, A or A_2 .

7. The qualitative form OEI (EIPF), A_2 , appears at 56.28, where the Sahidic O is found at 59.7,17. In the latter cases, however, the verb is part of an adjectival phrase. Also E, 62.7,9; A.

8. The demonstrative article appears in reduced and plene form, if the spelling ΠEEI is recognized to be characteristic AA_2 . The full form appears at 52.33; 53.15; 60.16; 61.28; 63.17. The reduced form is used at 52.30 and 63.5.

9. The AA_2 form $\Pi\text{AXE-}$ ($\Pi\text{EXE-}$) is written at 52.25. All the other numerous uses are Sahidic $\Pi\text{EXE-}$.

10. A situation similar to the case of the demonstrative article arises with C2AEI (62.15) and C2EEI (61.30, appearing as examples of A_2 with Sahidic counterparts C2AI at 61.20; 62.13,22.

11. The AA_2 qualitative form TOYBAEIT occurs at 63.6, while the S infinitive TBBO appears at 62.31 (AA_2 would probably be TOYBO, judging from the qualitative).

12. The prepronominal verbal form $\chi\text{IIA''}$, $A_2\text{F}$, is used at 52.26, while Sahidic forms of χIIO are used in the other nine occurrences of the verb.

D. Unusual Sahidic Characteristics without Normal Sahidic Counterparts in the Text

Here it is useful to classify the so-called mixed Sahidic elements which seem to be standard in our tractate and obtain for much of the Nag Hammadi library. These characterize what probably should be recognized

as the Nag Hammadi dialect, or S_{a2} .

1. Consistent use of AEI- (AI-) for the first person singular pronominal prefix of the I Perfect: 52.10,11,15,26; 53.12, 13; 54.30; 58.10,14,16; 60.1.
2. Consistent use of MA2- (ME2-) as the ordinal prefix form: 52.4,5; 53.25,26; 55.15.
3. Appearance of OYPAT (OYPOT), masculine nominal form characterized as S_{fAA_2} , at 62.22.

While the last example, being a hapax legomenon in our text, is classified here only for consistency, clearly the consistent usage of SAA_2 elements points to Upper Egypt as the home of the dialect represented in our extant manuscript.

E. Non-Sahidic Forms without Sahidic Counterparts in the Text

1. The imperative form EPI- (API-, EIPE) used consistently, each time before Greek verbs: 53.24; 59.21; A_0 .
2. The third-person masculine singular pronominal prefix of the III Future appears once as E4A- (E4E-): 53.30; A_2 .
3. The particle MN- as a negative imperative prefixed to Causative to form negative Optative MNTPE'' (cf. Gospel of Thomas, 80.14) rather than Sahidic MIIPTPE'': 59.15; AA_2 .
4. The consistent use of NTAPI- (NTEPE-), clause conjunctive verbal prefix of Temporalis: 52.11,14,19; 59.23; 61.6; A .
5. The nominal form TCEBO- (TCABO-) of the verb, as a hapax legomenon: 54.30; A .

6. The compound verbal form TAEIOOY (†EOOY): 53.9; A₂ and possibly F.

7. The verb 2E†E, 2E† (2ATE): 52.20 and 55.22, respectively; A₂.

8. The adjective 6BOYP (2BOYP), as a hapax legomenon: 62.9; A₂.

Clearly the dialectal variation in the categories above indicates the presence of upper Egyptian influences, and particularly Subachaimic. It seems fair to conclude, then, that the scribe who made the final transcription of Tractate 6 and the rest of the codex used a dialect which was characteristic of Thebes, i.e., Sahidic, but in a mixed form which points to a more northerly location down the Nile towards Achmin and Assiut. Chenoboskion or Diospolis Parva (modern Hu), the very area in which the Coptic Gnostic library lay buried for so many centuries, meets all the known geographical requirements for the provenance of the dialect. Evidently, then, the final transcription of Tractate 6 was made by a scribe native to the area of the Nag Hammadi library.

F. Phonological Considerations

1. N- regularly assimilates behind M. With the exception of 53.17, 59.4 and 62.11, it assimilates as M- behind Π. It stands regularly unassimilated behind Ψ (55.13, 57.22, 58.19, 59.29), and P.

2. The nominal form ⲙⲙⲙⲓ- (ⲙⲙⲙⲓ-) is found at 52.31, with pronominal forms ⲙⲙⲙⲓ'' (52.29) and ⲙⲙⲙⲓ'' (53.25). The nominal form, with double long vowel, is hitherto unattested.

3. The form 6BOYP (2BOYP), 62.19.

4. There is a whole class of phonological variation related to the Greek loan-words of Tractate 6 (see next chapter). The variations are often explicable by the tendencies of pronunciation native to Greek itself in the late Hellenistic period, such as the orthographic itacism of peithesthai (pithesthai, 53.35). However, it is clear from the unusual orthography of such Greek loan-words as eikon (hikon, 56.15; 57.4,7) and ahoratos (ahoratos, 56.11) that phonological processes operative in Coptic itself are indicated.

The orthography of heimarmene (XIMAPMENH, 62.27) demonstrates phonological variation on a Greek loan-word beginning with rough breathing which is hitherto unattested outside of Nag Hammadi literature.

The prefixing of Coptic 2- to Greek loan-words beginning with smooth breathings, such as hikon (56.15 et al.) and hennas (for Gk. enneas, 56.28; 59.31; 61.22; 63.14), and the interpolation of Coptic -2- in the form ahoratos (56.11), are familiar phonological trends.

G. Orthographic Considerations

1. Itacism is indicated in the shorter forms of the demonstrative article found at 52.30 and 63.5, the form INE (EINE) at 55.31, IINT (EIINT) at 53.16, and ITN (EITN) at 62.11. Possibly the form XIMAPMENH (62.27) represents itacism as well as phonology.

2. Etacism and other practices of vowel lengthening are evident in both Coptic and Greek loan-words. Of the Greek words,

logeikē is written for logikē (57.18), poleitēs for politēs (59.4), while infinitival endings are reduced, such as kateche for katechei(n) (58.9) and onomaze for onomazei(n) (61.22). Normally Greek loan-verbs are written with the long sound in Tractate 6, however, such as noei, prosphōnei, hymnei.¹

YBITE(52.6) is written for YITE, C2AEI and C2EEI for C2AI (62.15; 61.30, respectively), AEI- for the first-person singular I Perfect pronominal prefix AI- appears regularly, and the hitherto unattested form XEI appears in 52.14 for XI. The forms KOYI (54.11) and EPHY for EPHY (57.27) are vowel lengthenings associated with Coptic Y or he. Clearly the phonological significance of these examples lies in their common affinities to dialect sounds, since they all approximate phonological trends in the dialects of Upper Egypt, particularly AA₂.

3. A further consideration of dialectal orthography lies in the trends of the hitherto unattested forms ΠPANII or ΠPAEII (for ΠP-ΛN2, 61.20,30; 62.15), AIPW2(EIWP2,52.9), OYWNE (apparently from OYON, 62.4), and XAME (from either XMM or XWME, 54.32, cf. translation note 6). In the first, second and last cases, the vowel sounds represent the flatter "A" sound of Subachmimic, and the word derived from OYON preserves a final orthographical -E, as Achmimic often does after closed syllables. Possibly the form XAME in this one instance is from XMM, in an unattested Achmimic orthography.

¹ One would expect Greek contract verbs to retain the long sound or stressed ending in Coptic. This, however, does not explain a form like noein, NOEI, or many other examples from Tractate VI.

H. Scribal Considerations

1. Punctuation follows normal use of supralinear stroke and Umlaut, but the use of supralinear periods and apostrophes seems to indicate no regular pattern. This, however, is characteristic of the Nag Hammadi codices.

2. Grammatical errors exist, usually as omissions or metatheses in transcription. The subject lacks at 52.29, the article at 57.5 and 57.8, and the pronominal prefix must be emended from CE- to EC- at 56.14.

3. In 55.30 the scribe has crossed out logos at the end of the line and written OYUW above it. Clearly this was a ditto-graphy from logos at the end of line 55.26.

4. In four places the scribe has inserted omitted letters or words above the line: 2 above (2) EPMHNEYE in 58.29; I in TP(I) CMEFICTOC of 59.15; M in 2(M)AT of 64.20. The word ETOYAAB is inserted above NTHIE in 63.17.

The dialectal-phonological variations in the extant text of Tractate 6 show a trend. Certain orthographies, such as the first-person singular AEI- of the I Perfect, remain constant. This form is also found in the scribal note of 65.8. The Achmamic form of the second-plural pronoun "you," THNE, appears several times in the scribal note as well.

The trend in Tractate 6 is that often A, A₂ or AA₂ forms exist alongside Sahidic forms of the same word, but in the minority. For example, the Sahidic demonstrative pronoun appears in every place except

52.8, where the form TEI⁷ is encountered. Checking my category C., it is found that in a minority of cases A- appears for E- as preposition or nota accusativi. Sometimes NHEI appears for the prepositional form NAI, and in one instance the AA₂ form ΠA~~X~~E- appears for ΠE~~X~~E-.

It seems, then, that the scribe who made the final transcription of Tractate 6 was "correcting" earlier AA₂ forms to Theban or Sahidic orthography. In most cases he has made the correction, but in rare instances, being somewhat hurried and careless (as other scribal characteristics show), he copied the AA₂ orthography. Since the mixed S_{a2} dialect of the scribe was very close to that of his copy of Tractate 6, he did not bother to cross out forms like TEI⁷ or NHEI.

Most of the time he maintained a thoroughgoing reductionism, probably for phonological as well as orthographical reasons. The rare reductions of the demonstrative at 52.30 and 63.5, however, were probably for the sake of abbreviation, as he was nearing the end of the line. Subachmimic influence in his own dialect still demanded the full form of the demonstrative and first-person singular I Perfect.

In copying the note of a previous scribe, however, he did not change -THNE to -THYTN, since it was shorter and understood in his own dialect. He consciously reduced the first-person singular circumstantial in 65.10,11 and the spelling of the verb C2AY, as the supralinear diaeresis indicates in each instance.

The dialectal trend in Tractate 6, then, seems to indicate that the last scribe was working from a generally Subachmimic transcription which he put into a more polished Sahidic form, in imitation of Theban

language.

Three tentative hypotheses can be presented from the admittedly tenuous evidence of the dialectal trends. First, the final transcription of our extant manuscript was made from a Coptic text, rather than Greek. Transcription, and not translation, was probably involved. Second, the copy from which the scribe worked could indicate either a more northerly provenance for the text or simply a less sophisticated and possibly older period. Third, the final scribe received Tractate 6 in a form which included the appended prayer and scribal note. Probably, then, he was copying from another codex which was considered to be of such importance that even the scribal note could not be omitted.

Original Language

One of the exciting aspects of the Nag Hammadi literature is that it preserves Coptic versions of original Greek writings known to us by title or quotation through Ireneus and other early sources. Though most of the actual manuscripts of the library have probably been transcribed no earlier than A.D. the 4th century, scholars can with much assurance push back the date of the original compositions to as early as the 2nd century.¹

There has been a danger in assuming that what seems to be true for certain of the Nag Hammadi tractates, such as the Apocryphon of John and the Gospel of Thomas, is necessarily applicable to all the others. A methodical consideration of the original language of each tractate has not yet been attempted. Such an investigation would have to consider at least three criteria: evidence in early writers for Greek exemplars; internal evidence of Greek idioms and constructions; type and use of Greek vocabulary words. Needless to say, the best and most decisive evidence for earlier Greek composition of a given tractate would be the existence of quotations and references from the text in earlier Greek writers or papyri. In other words, external evidence carries the most weight. Internal evidence of Greek construction, idiomatic use of prepositions and incidence of Greek vocabulary is much less substantial proof of original composition in Greek. As I shall try to demonstrate in this chapter, conclusions about the original language of Tractate 6

¹C. G. L. T., p. 372

based upon internal evidence are subject to two important modifications: (1) constructions that may be taken for Greek idioms or evidence of direct translation from Greek may, rather, reflect the prevailing influence of Greek language upon native Coptic; (2) the incidence and use of Greek terms in Coptic texts is not, by virtue of frequency, a reliable criterion of original language.

I first began to suspect the reliability of the criterion of Greek word-frequency when examining early Coptic non-literary texts from the Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, volume IV. It is apparent that in many cities of the Nile in Roman-Hellenistic times Greek loan-words made up a great part of the legal language. For example, in W. C. Till's Die Koptischen Rechtsurkunden der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Wien, 1958), pp. 20-21, an engagement contract for the first day of Thoth, Indiction year 14 (= A.D. 326), contains these statistics:

Total Words	Coptic Words ¹	Greek Words	Percentage ²
139	77	62	80%

There are 80% as many Greek loan-words as Coptic words. An examination of other Coptic legal documents from the same period in this collection yields similar results. Thus, in the early 4th century it appears that Greek loan-words had become established in Coptic as legal terms and,

¹In the following numerations I have not counted Coptic prepositions separately unless it is usual to separate them in the textual transcription. The same applies to other small particles, i.e., PMNKHKH is one word, not three. Numeration is of frequency, not vocabulary.

²Percentage of Greek words to Coptic words, i.e., #Greek Words/#Coptic Words. Accurate to the nearest whole percent.

as this particular contract shows, also in religious terminology, oaths and prayer.

If this is so for legal and religious terminology, it must be true for the technical terms of Gnosticism and Hermetism. Words such as nous, plērōma, pronoia and the whole technical vocabulary of esoteric religion, in particular the divine names and hypostaseis, though originally loan-words established through Hellenistic culture, are undoubtedly considered to be native vocabulary by Copts of the 4th century. The Greek divine name Christos was as much a part of the Coptic language as the word "Christ" is of the English language today. The same obtains for other divine names: Hermes, Autogenes, Monogenes, Sophia, etc. It is these divine names and hypostaseis, moreover, which often constitute the main bulk of so-called Greek words in Gnostic treatises.

Now let us examine the incidences of Greek words in more classically Sahidic texts which we know to have been composed in Coptic. The two selections I have evaluated are from the works of Shenute and his disciple Besa, and appear in the Scriptores Coptici publications. In order, W. E. Crum and I. Leipoldt's edition Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia (Paris, 1908), Tome 4, from De Actis Archelai (36.), pp. 109-110; and K. H. Kuhn's edition Letters and Sermons of Besa (Louvain, 1956), Tome 21, "To an erring monk," pp. 22-23. We discover the following statistics:

Total Words	Coptic Words	Greek Words	Percentage
Shenute 141	100	41	41%
Besa 208	177	31	18%

Here are some striking figures. Even though both men were speaking

and composing in Sahidic, the frequency of Greek loan-words varies greatly between them. The key to understanding the difference lies in the difference between the subject-matter of the two discourses. Shenute is writing about Mani and Manichaeism, which relates to Greco-Persian culture, while Besa is describing the dishonorable actions of a local monk.

A further perusal of the works of Shenute and Besa demonstrates that generally there is to be found a lower frequency of Greek loan-words than in earlier Coptic literature and non-literary texts. In fact, the 41% loan-word frequency of the Shenute text I selected seems to be fairly high for other Shenute texts, and the 18% frequency of Besa's text perhaps somewhat lower than most of his other works, so that it seems fair to generalize that Shenute and Besa vary between 20% and 40% in their use of Greek loan-words.

What, then, of a Sahidic text which is known to be translated from Greek to Coptic? Shouldn't we expect to find a relatively high incidence of Greek loan-words in such a text? As I mentioned earlier, this is not necessarily true. By way of example, I have tabulated from the Sermon on the Mount the first 12 verses of Matthew 5, from G. W. Horner's The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect (Oxford, 1911):

Total Words	Coptic Words	Greek Words	Percentage
117	107	10	9%

This is startling evidence. We have discovered as high a frequency of Greek loan-words in Coptic non-literary texts as 80%, yet as low as

9% in literature we know to have been translated from original Greek manuscripts! This is the inverse of what we might expect, and demonstrates that the frequency of Greek loan-words in a given Coptic text is not a reliable criterion for determining the original language of the text. Indeed, if we were to indiscriminately apply such a criterion in these cases, we would be forced to conclude that Matthew's Gospel was composed in Coptic, while the non-literary legal document was translated from a Greek original!¹

The text of Tractate 6 itself yields the following statistics:

Total Words	Coptic Words	Greek Words	Percentage
1115	852	263	33%

Within this frequency schedule there are totals of 121 different Greek words and 176 different Coptic words, for a total vocabulary of 279 words. The ratio of Greek frequency to Greek vocabulary is about 2 to 1, which seems standard for the other selections cited.

In terms of composition, while Greek words often are chosen for technical Hermetic terms in Tractate 6, there are instances when Coptic words are used instead, such as 53.7, "to know, get knowledge," COYMN instead of $\nu\omicron\epsilon\tau\nu$ or $\gamma\nu\omega\iota\varsigma$; 52.4, 53.25, 55.16, "the Eighth," IMMOYNE instead of $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\delta\varsigma$ (cf. 56.26, 58.17, 59.29, et al.); 60.31, "Will" of

¹W. A. Girgis has written an excellent article, "Greek Loan Words in Coptic," Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, vol. 17 (1963-64), hereafter cited as Greek Loan Words. In the article he demonstrates that frequency of Greek loan-words in Coptic texts radically changes. In Old Coptic or very early Coptic texts (listed in his note 5, p. 68), little or no use is made of Greek loan-words. "This," he says, "is noticable in later times, when a tendency towards purism made its appearance (pp. 68-69)." This purism is typical of the Coptic Old and New Testaments, but not maintained in the so-called "classical" Sahidic of Shenute.

God, BOYNE instead of $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$. Many other examples can be found.

Furthermore, Coptic words are found in the text which have no known Greek equivalents, such as PAN or PAEI of 61.20,30 and 62.15, "House of Life," a distinctly Egyptian conception and institution.

Girgis has developed criteria for evaluating relationships between the vocabulary of original Greek texts and their Coptic versions.¹ He points out that from the 4th century B.C. through A.D. the 7th century, Greek was the language of rulers, officials and educated Egyptians. Greek loan-words retain their Greek forms because Coptic made use of the Greek alphabet. "In spite of this, however," says Girgis, "there are numerous instances of vowel changes in these loan-words which, where not due to mere carelessness on the part of the scribe, may be accounted for, if the word was taken over from speech rather than from writing."²

Such scholars as Lefort, Gaselee, Hopfner, van Lantschoot and H.-Khs. Burmester have estimated the number of such native Coptic words derived from Greek to be very high: some 900 in the Sahidic New Testament, some 500 in the writings of Shenute, 444 in the Apophthegmata Patrum, 325 in the Bohairic text of the Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and some 766 in the Instructions of St. Pachomius (that is, an average of one loan-word every line and a quarter).³ Clearly a native Coptic text can contain a very high frequency of Greek loan-words.

¹Greek Loan Words, pp. 66.73

²ibid., p. 64

³ibid., pp. 64-65

In what ways might Greek loan-words native to Coptic texts be differentiated from Greek words which a Coptic translator has copied from an original Greek manuscript? Using the data that Girgis has brought together in his article, several principles can be formulated.

1. Greek words which appear in Coptic texts misspelled in such a way as to indicate oral transmission might be assumed to be loan-words. Examples from the Greek vocabulary of Tractate 6 are: ahoratos (56.11) from Gk. aoratos; hikōn (56.15; 57.4,7) from Gk. eikōn [may indicate written transmission as well, from habitual mistaking of Greek epsilon for Coptic hori; but this is clearly a loan-word, as it appears often in Coptic theological writings]; hennas (56.28; 59.31; 61.22; 63.14) for Gk. enneas; genēton (57.14,17; 63.21 [where reduplication indicates a spelling with only one nu]) from Gk. gennēton; autogenētos (57.13) from Gk. autogennētos; kalaeinos (61.27; 62.11) from Gk. kallaīnos; sappeirimon (62.14) from Gk. sappheirinos; exōdiakos (63.3 sic.) from Gk. exōtikos; syneudocei (63.8) from Gk. syneudokein; paraba (62.31; 63.29) from Gk. parabainein; jimarmenē (62.7) from Gk. heimarmenē.¹

Besides these, there are several where iteration or other similar

¹ Ambivalence in the spelling of Greek words by native Greek writers is common in the Hellenistic period. In the case of the doubled nu, as in the words gennēton and autogennētos, this could be attributed to a native Greek spelling. The same may very well be true in the instances of itacism, as in the words peithesthai, logikē and politēs. While it is true, however, that some of the examples of misspelling Greek loan-words that I have cited could be attributed to native Greek misspellings of the period, it is appropriate to list them in the context of the other examples of Greek loan-words because it is possible that their orthography has resulted from a process of adaptation into spoken Coptic. Certainly there were no authoritative standards for spelling in either the Greek or Coptic of the Roman-Hellenistic period. Also, some of the variations cited here occur in Greek loan-words of other Nag Hammadi tractates which were clearly translated from Greek exemplars. In these cases, however, it can be often seen that the translator has actually inserted Greek loan-words on occasion as synonym for the original Greek word! The problem, then, is very tenuous and complex. As I have tried to show, however, the problem is one of phonology as well as simple orthography.

processes have been in evidence, possibly rooted in quirks of oral transmission: pithesthai (53.35) for Gk. peithesthai; logeikē (57.18) for Gk. logikē; poleitēs (59.4) for Gk. politēs. Included in this category are the verbs which come over from Greek in shortened infinitival forms, but never consistently: archei for archein, actually the deponent archesthai, but cf. pithesthai (53.35), in deponent form; noei for noein and epikalei for epikalein, but kateche (58.9) for katechein, hermeneue (58.29) for hermeneuein, onomaze (61.22; 63.28) for onomazein et al. Such inconsistencies may be due to oral, not scribal, processes, since in such cases the difference is of a long or short vowel sound. There is no consistency in the "misspelling," but the individual pronunciations remain constant. Thus a common Greek loan verb like archei (52.11; 53.24) from Gk. archesthai is always found "misspelled" as archei in Coptic texts or translations.¹ This suggests an oral, rather than scribal, process.

To quote Girgis: "Such Coptic forms of Greek words as deviate from the standard Greek form and spelling, are an indication that such words had become thoroughly naturalized, and, consequently, their orthography was according to the current Coptic pronunciation."²

It seems to me that by carefully comparing Coptic orthography of Greek loan-words in the Nag Hammadi writings, different periods for the copying of various codices might be established on the basis of dialect and pronunciation. This may yield better results than simple

¹Greek Loan Words, p. 69

²ibid., p. 72

classification into categories like Scribal Convention or Orthographic Itacism. Indeed, many of these seemingly inconsistent orthographic forms of Greek loan-words may indicate phonological categories.

A second way of looking at the Greek vocabulary in Tractate 6 is to compare its contents with the categories of Greek loan-words listed in Girgis' article.

2. Greek loan words from official titles, legal language: dioikein, episkopos, hermeneuein, nomos, onomazein, onomasia, ousiarchēs (from archōn¹ or archē and ousia²), parabainein, paragein, politeuesthai, politēs, taxis, terein, phulax, chēra. Other words with legal functions would include: aitein, dikaion, dōrea, kakourgia, keleuein, paradosis, parthenos, prospheuein, stēlē, syneudokein.

Materials known to the Egyptians only through their Greek names: galaktitēs, kallainos, plax, plektron, sappheirion.

Religious, philosophical, theological and moral terms: agathon, agapē (also legal terms, as specified in Christian wills), aggelos, agennētos, aion, alētheia, anoētos, oratos, archē, aspazein (in Christian liturgy), autogenēs, autogennētos, genikos logos, gennētos, gnōsis, dynamis, eikōn, energeia, epikalein, eusebēs, theon, theōria, logikē, thusia, logos, morphē, noein, noēsis, nous, ousia, peithesthai, pēgē, plerōma, pneuma, pneumatikon, problēma, prokope, pronoia, prosōpons, sophia, sophos, staichein, syneidesis, sōma, teleios, tupos, hymnein, physis, psallein, psychē. Such words as phobos and tetragonon might

¹Cf. Greek Loan Words, p. 66

²ibid., p. 67

easily belong to this category of loan-words.

Astrological technical terms: aion, anagkē, bathmos, bathos, hebdomas, heimarmenē, enneas, zōdiakos (if this is indicated in 63.3), hēlios, krios, moira, ogdoas, and possibly paragein (62.19).

Grammatical words commonly used in native Coptic: alla, ara, gar, de, ei mē ti, kalos, kata, ēdē, mallon, men, mēpos, oute, hotan, hōs.

Proper names: Diospolis, Hermes, Trismegistus, Krios, Heimarmene, Parthenos.

Excluding proper names, which may or may not exist as loan-words, out of 117 Greek words in the vocabulary of Tractate 6, 9 of them are yet unclassified. These are: auxanein, heurēma, zētēma, hēlikia, thauma, katechein, orgē, propetēs, prosōpon. The first three seem to be part of the technical vocabulary of the tractate itself. But all the words are common and can be classified, with some assurance, as miscellaneous Greek forms which could have been part of a loan-word vocabulary in Egypt.

Of the some 1115 words in Tractate 6, there are 263 occurrences of Greek forms, from a vocabulary of 117 Greek words. Of these occurrences, 11 of them are classified as miscellaneous, with probability of being Greek loan-words. The other 252 occurrences, or some 96% of them, are common words which can easily be assigned to the categories of Greek loan-words in native Coptic defined by Girgis and others.

It can be argued that the subject matter of the tractate determines its vocabulary, which falls predominantly into the category of religious, theological, philosophical and moral terms. Most of the

technical vocabulary consists of Gnostic, Hermetic, legal and astrological language. Most of this language, again, is expressed by Greek forms.

To this objection another principle defined by Girgis might be applied.

3. To quote Girgis: "The number of Greek words in a text translated from a Greek original is usually less than that in a text written originally in Coptic. This is for the reason that the translator from the Greek knew Greek and Coptic, and he had the tendency to purism,¹ while the Coptic writer who was ignorant of Greek,² was unconscious of the foreign origin of the Greek words he used."³

While it seems contradictory that the number of Greek forms in a work translated in Coptic from a Greek original is usually less, and significantly less, than in a work composed in Coptic, it is nevertheless, according to Girgis, an established fact. The absence of Greek forms in Old Coptic and certain early Coptic texts indicates that Greek loan-words had not yet become important in Hellenistic Egypt. By the later Roman-Hellenistic period, the Greek language had been radically assimilated into Egyptian. Not only the alphabet, as in Coptic, nor only Greek loan-words, but many of the very idioms and Greek grammatical structures themselves had become native to spoken and written Coptic—

¹Girgis refers the reader to L. Th. Lefort, "Greco-Copte" in "Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum," Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, p. 66.

²Here I must disagree with Girgis. It seems clear to me that literate Egyptians of the Roman-Hellenistic period were bilingual.

³Greek Loan Words, p. 71. Emphasis my own.

as I shall try to show further in this chapter.

Tractate 6 contains a moderate number of Greek words, some 33% of the vocabulary, which compares very closely with the frequency of Greek loan-words in Shenute, which varies between 20% and 40%, according to my research. There may be a slight tendency towards "purism," or possible rendering of Greek words into Coptic by a hypothetical translator, indicated by the few examples listed on my page 22. Both Greek and Coptic words are used for "to know; the Eighth; God's Will." Some native Egyptian words without exact Greek equivalents are used, such as "House of Life." This, however, is certainly not indicative of a thoroughgoing purism. Rather, these rare examples point to native Coptic composition of the tractate. At practically every point where a translator would have preferred a purist use of Coptic (aitein > O2E; keleusein > OYE2 CA2NE, et al.¹), the writer of Tractate 6 has let the Greek loan-word stand.

It is clear, then, that there is no compelling internal evidence in Tractate 6 relative to the type or incidence of Greek words that leads to the conclusion that it was originally composed in Greek. Indeed there are some technical terms that appear to be distinctly Egyptian, and the recurring pun on djome, "scroll" and "generation,"² points again to the possibility of original Coptic composition.

Since there is no external evidence of a Greek or other Vorlage to Tractate 6, the only remaining internal evidence that might be con-

¹Greek Loan Words, p. 70.

²See note 5 to the translation.

sidered as indicative of a Greek original is that of Greek idiom and construction in the text. It is easy to "imagine" back from the Coptic of the tractate to a hypothetical Greek construction underlying it. For example, 52.8-10 reads: TEI MEN TE TTAΞIC ΠΕΡΗΤ ΔΕ ΑΥΨΠΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΜΝ(Τ)ΡΗΜΕ. Here is the typical Greek μὲν...ὅτε construction, and the use of a Greek predicate nominative, and preposition. The simple reconstruction might be: Αὕτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τάξις ἡ δ' ἐπ' ἀρχαίᾳ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

Such a possibility, however, is in itself no more probable than the earlier demonstrations of Burney and Black that John's Gospel was translated from an Aramaic original. The μὲν...ὅτε construction has been absorbed from Greek grammar into Coptic, and stands as an integral part of native Coptic construction.¹ The Greek preposition κατὰ has as early as the first century been appropriated as a functional Coptic preposition, even in the non-literary texts.² In other words, even though the Coptic evidences usage of an originally Greek construction, vocabulary and prepositional idiom, it may be of native Coptic composition.³

The Coptic language itself, being culturally subordinate to the Greek, absorbed basic idioms, prepositional usages and vocabulary from Greek. Points of contact between the languages occurred both in literary

¹Cf. the text from Shenute reproduced by Till in Koptische Grammatik, op cit., p. 299, lines 8-9; see also Till, p. 186, #365.

²Cf. W. E. Crum, Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others (London, 1902), ostraca from A.D. 12, p. 90, and A.D. 46, p. 97.

³Greek Loan Words, p. 72.

and non-literary modes. Translation of Greek literature into Coptic was an ongoing process. Even in the common speech of only slightly literate Egyptians, however, Greek had its impact. The vehicles of influence were in the formats for common non-literary language transactions, such as the legal and technical phrasing of tax receipts, wills and memoranda or letters. Numerous examples can be elicited through a comparative study of native Coptic non-literary texts with native Greek non-literary texts. The Greek epistolary form, *πρὸς μὲν πάντων*,¹ has become native Coptic *ⲙⲟⲣⲓ MEN* even by the beginning of A.D. the 1st century.² The Greek convention *χαίρειν*³ and *χαῖρε*⁴ has been taken over in Coptic salutations, *XAIPE*.⁵ The common epistolary convention of beginning the letter itself with the Greek casual conjunction *ἐπειδὴ*⁶ becomes current in native Coptic usage.⁷ In certain cases special bilingual forms were used, with Coptic on one line, Greek on the next.⁸

Beyond these examples, many Greek prepositions, conjunctions and other particles have been incorporated into native Coptic, as evidenced by extant non-literary texts. Aside from the more common examples listed

¹ *Select Papyri*, ed. A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 302, 304, 308, 318, 320.

² Crum, op. cit., selections from A.D. 2, 11, 23.

³ A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, op. cit., pp. 268, 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 356

⁵ Crum, op. cit., nos. 268, 330; see A.D. 28.

⁶ A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, op. cit., pp. 292-4, 352.

⁷ Crum, op. cit., A.D. 2, 7, 11, 38, 61, 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 318.

by Till, such as $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, η , $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ldots\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\ldots\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$, $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\tau\iota$, $\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, (Till, pp. 186-187), and many others, usages which "look" Greek can be found in native non-literary texts: $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\ldots\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$;¹ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$;² etc.

It seems, then, that in any attempt to recover an original Greek text from what is presumed to be a Coptic version, the scholar is almost at a loss for internal evidence. Since Coptic has been so profoundly influenced by Greek grammatical construction, has taken over directly many Greek words, internal evidence is almost useless. If the question were one of recovering, for example, an original Hebrew text from Coptic, the task would be less precarious. Evidence of Hebrew words transliterated into Coptic could be given serious weight, and semitic constructions would be anomalies, pointing back to a Hebrew original. But the attempt to "get behind" the Coptic text to a Greek original is practically impossible. The only seriously admissible evidence must be either that pointing to an underlying Greek construction of a complex and unusual sort, or what appears to be the direct transliteration of a Greek idiom which would be grammatically impossible in Coptic.

In only one place some evidence exists for an underlying complex Greek clause structure. The translation from 62.22-27 runs: "Inscribe, furthermore, ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$), an oath upon the scroll, lest ($\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$) the name ($\acute{o}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$) be put to an evil purpose ($\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma(\alpha)$) by those who will read the scroll, and ($\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) not to opposing the works of astral destiny

¹Crum, op. cit., A.D. 2, 7, 11, 38, 61, 62. no. 282

²Ibid., no. 93

(εἰμαμένην) ." As Professor Turner has pointed out (cf. my note to the translation #67), this may be an example of an original construction of εἰς clauses, the second being negative purpose clause, ΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΜ + infinitive. In point of fact, the Coptic ΕΤΜ + infinitive construction does literally translate the Greek construction. I Corinthians 9.18 εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρησασθαι becomes ΕΤΜΤΡΑΕΙΡΕ in the Sahidic Coptic version, and I Corinthians 10.6 εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι becomes Coptic ΕΤΜΤΡΕΝΙΩΝΙΕ.¹ The possibility exists that the complex Greek construction underlying this section is the product of direct translation. It is certainly not a common Coptic construction. Yet again, it is not unlikely that an educated Egyptian familiar with Greek and perhaps bilingual could have composed such a sentence in imitation of Greek style. The evidence points to profound Greek influence. The basic question remains, however, since this isolated example is the only serious evidence in the tractate for Greek composition: how does the Greek influence come into the tractate--by direct translation from the Greek, or through the medium of a hypothetical Coptic composer himself?

There remains one most important factor of internal evidence to be considered, and that is the passage of 61.18-22: "As for this scroll, O my son, write it at the Temple of Diospolis in characters of a scribe of the House of Life, entitling it: The Eighth Reveals the Ninth."

Regardless of whether we conclude that Diospolis Magna (Thebes) or Diospolis Parva was meant, this suggests a dis-

¹ The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, ed. G. W. Horner (Oxford, 1911).

tinct possibility that this Hermetic tractate, if not certain other parts of the library, may well have been composed in Coptic not far to the north in Upper Egypt. Is it only coincidence that the text refers to a geographical location in which the very dialectal characteristics of the text itself were native? Dialectal evidence alone would suggest the conclusion that our transcript of the manuscript was made in northern Upper Egypt near either "Diospolis." When, however, it is realized that the composition itself made reference to the same geographical area, and that we have discovered no valid reason to presume our tractate was composed originally in Greek, we must accept as reasonable the possibility that Tractate 6 was composed in Coptic.¹

From an examination of the text itself, it seems possible that Tractate 6 is an original Hermetic document composed in northern Upper Egypt sometime previous to c. A.D. 350, when our scribal transcript was hidden or buried. It may have been composed in the same dialect of mixed Sahidic and Achmimic-Subachmimic in which it has survived.

¹The state of the Coptic language at the time of its composition might be compared to that of the modern "Chicano" language in the southwestern United States. It is a mixture of Mexican Spanish and American English, predominating sometimes in English, other times in Spanish. The language could be dual-indexed, as we do Coptic, but the basic integrity of the language remains. It is mostly incomprehensible to both English- and Spanish-speaking people, yet is the language of a "colonized" culture, and carries on religious and other activities in its own tongue. "Chicano" language is grammatically Spanish, as Coptic was grammatically like Demotic, but filled with English loan-words, as Coptic took on the vocabulary of the "conquering" culture. Just as modern "Chicano" culture produces much of its own religious and political literature, so the clear possibility exists that native Coptic culture produced our initiation tractate.

PART II

Translation

52.1-17

- 1 []¹
 [O my Father] you promised me yesterday
 [to bring] my consciousness² into
 [the] Eighth, and after-
 5 wards to bring me into the
 Ninth. You said, "This is the
 orderly progress (τάξις) of the tradition (παράδοσις)." O my
 son, this is indeed (μέν) the order (τάξις),
 but the promise was made in (κατά)
 10 human terms. For (γάρ) I said it to you
 when I instituted (ἄρχεσθαι) the promise,
 and I said it on the condition that you are remembering
 each one of the degrees (βαθμός).
 When I received the Spirit (πνεῦμα) through the
 15 Power (δύναμις), I transmitted to you the
 energy (ἐνέργεια). While the understanding (νόησις μέν)
 is within you, within me as though (ὥς)

52.18-31

conceived is the Power (δύναμις).³

For (γάρ) when I conceived from the well-spring (πηγή)

20 which flowed to me, I gave birth.⁴ O

my Father, you have delivered every discourse

to me well (καλῶς). But I am surprised (-θαύμα δε)

at this word which you now

speak. For (γάρ) you said, "The

25 Power (δύναμις) which is within me."

He said, "I begot it even as child-

ren are begotten."⁵ Then (ἄρα), O my

Father, do I have many brothers if

you number me with the generations?⁶

30 Well spoken (καλῶς), O my son. This good estate (ἀγαθόν)

numbers from⁷

53.1-18

1 []

[]

[]

[] and []

5 [] always []

[] O my son, it [is nec-]

essary (ἀνάγκη) for you to know

your brothers and

properly (καλῶς) to honor them in a

10 fitting manner, since (ὥς) they came to

be from the same Father.

For (γάρ) I addressed (προσφωνεῖν) each generation.⁸

I named⁹

them as though (ὥς) they were born

15 like children. Then (ἄρα) , O

my Father, do they also possess?¹⁰

O my son, they are Pneumatics (πνευματικόν),

for (γάρ) they are the

53.19-34

energies (ἐνέργεια) increasing (αὐξάνειν)

20 other souls (ψυχαί). For this reason I say,

"They are immortals."

Your discourse is truth. From now on

it has no rebuttal (ἀντιλογία).¹¹

O my Father, begin (ἄρχεσθαι) the

25 discourse¹² on the Eighth and

the Ninth, and number me also

with my brothers. Let us pray,

O my son, to the Father of the All,¹³

with your brothers who are my

30 sons,¹⁴ that He may grant

the Spirit (πνεῦμα) and I may deliver discourse.

O my Father, how do they pray,

who are joined¹⁵ to the generations?

I wish, O my Father, to be fully convinced (περθεσθαι)

54.1-18

1 []

[]

[] but []

[] it is []

5 [] but (ἀλλά) it is at rest []

[] it, and it is Truth¹⁶

[that will make] you remember the progress (προκοπή)

which occurred for you from the

wisdom in the scrolls. 0

10 my son, liken yourself to one who is

in childhood (ἡλικία) like little ones.

You have proposed problems (πρόβλημα) that are

foolish and unreasonable (ἀνόητος) . 0 my

Father, the progress (προκοπή) which occurred

15 to me now and the pronoia (πρόνοια)¹⁷concerning (κατά) the generations¹⁸ which came to me

are greater than the lack that was within

me at the inception.¹⁹ 0 my son,

54.19-32

when (ὅταν) you understand (-νοεῖν) the truth
 20 of your saying, you will
 find your brothers praying
 with you, who are my sons.
 O my Father, I understand (-νοεῖν) nothing
 other than (εἰ μὴ τι) the beautiful thing which
 25 occurred to me from the scrolls: this thing of
 which you speak, the beauty
 of the soul (ψυχῇ), the edification which occurred
 to you by (κατὰ) degrees (βαθμὸς).
 May the understanding (νόησις) come to you,²⁰
 30 and you will learn. I have understood (-νοεῖν)
 O my Father, each one of
 the scrolls, but (οὐδὲ) more so (μᾶλλον) the [hymn]

55.1-19

1 [] *

[]

[]

[] in [] praise from []

5 [] to increase (αὐξάνειν) [.]

O [my] Father, < in > the discourse which [you]

will deliver, I shall receive its power (δύναμις)

from you, Even as they have spoken²¹

of it, let us pray together,

10 O my Father. O my son,

it is meet that, with

all our mind and heart

and soul (ψυχῇ), we pray

unto God, asking (αἰτεῖν)

15 Him for the gift (δωρεά) of the

Eighth, that it reach unto

us, and that each one

receive from His hand his own portion.

Your portion is (μέν) to

* Prof. Turner informs me that new fragments indicate the following structure to lines 1-3:

1	{	} happen in {
2	{	
3	{	

0 my son.
P...(

These additional words are indicated in my indices with brackets.

55.20-33

- 20 understand (νοεῖν), while my portion is to
 be able to deliver the discourse
 from the well-spring (πηγή) which flows to me.
 Let us pray, O my Father.
 'I invoke (ἐπικαλεῖν) Thee, Who
- 25 rules over the Kingdom
 of Might, Whose Word (λόγος)
 becomes an offspring of Light,
 Whose discourses, moreover (δέ), are immortal,
 are eternally un-
- 30 changing; Whose Will²²
 generates the life of the likenesses every-
 where; Whose nature (φύσις) gives form (μορφή)
 to essence (οὐσία), from Whom is moved²³

56.1-19

1 [] *

[]

[]

[] which exist []

5 [reaches] to everyone []

[Who has] generated everything which

[came] from the aeon (αἰών) through spirits (πνεῦμα).

He has created everything. The One Who

alone possesses within himself supports

10 everyone, since He is complete, the

unseen (ἀόρατος) God Whom they address

in silence; Whose

image (εἰκὼν) is moved while governed (δουλοῦμεν) 24

15 and governing (δουλοῦμεν).²⁴ O

Mighty One of Power (δύναμις) Who is exalted

beyond the Greatness, Who is exquisite

beyond excellence ΖΗΞΑΘΑΖΩ Α ΩΩ

ΕΕ ΩΩΩ ΩΩΩ ΩΩΩ ΩΩΩ

ΗΗ ΩΩΩΩΩ ΩΩΩΩΩ

*Prof. Turner informs me that new fragments indicate the following structure for lines 1-4:

1 namely the soul (psychē) and (

2 and the angels (aggelos) (

3 {) as () m (

4 () which exist in (

These additional words are indicated in my indices with brackets.

56.20-32

20 XXXXXXXX YYYYYYXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX ZWZAZWΘ .²⁵ O Lord,

grant us wisdom (σοφ(α) from

Thy power (δύναμις) extended

25 unto us, that we may tell ourselves²⁶ the vision (θεωρ(α)

of the Eighth (ὀγδοάς) and the Ninth (ἐννεάς).

We have already (ἤδη) advanced to the Seventh (ἐβδομάς),²⁷

practicing piety (εὐσεβής)

< and > being citizens (πολιτεύεσθαι) in Thy Law (νόμος).

30 And Thy Will

we fulfill at all

times, for (γάρ) we walked in

57.1-17

- 1 [] we forsook
 [] which exists²⁸
 [.] < 0 > Lord, grant
 [us] the truth (ἀλήθεια) in the image (εἰκὼν).
- 5 Grant [us] to see, through spirit (πνεῦμα),
 the form (μορφή) of the image (εἰκὼν),
 which has no flaw,²⁹
 and that Thou mayest receive the figure (τύπος) of the plērōma
 [(πλήρωμα)]
 from us through our
- 10 praise, and that Thou mayest know the spirit (πνεῦμα)
 within us. For (γάρ) it is through
 Thee that the All received animation (ψυχή).
 For (γάρ) it is from Thee, O Unbegotten One (ἀγέννητος),
 that begotten things (γέννητον)
- 15 have arisen. The birth of the Self-Begotten (αὐτογέννητος)
 is through Thee.
 The birth of all begotten things (γέννητον)

57.18-33

- which exist receives rational (λογικῇ)
sacrifices (θυσία) from us,
- 20 which we send
up to Thee with all our heart
and soul (ψυχῇ) and
strength. Make whole that
which is within us, and grant us
- 25 the wisdom (σοφία) of the immortal ones!
Let us kiss (ἀσπάζειν)³⁰ one
another, O my son, in
love. Rejoice over this, for (γάρ) already (ἤδη)
the power (δύναμις)
- 30 which is light is coming from them to us.
For (γάρ) I am beholding depths (βάθος)
ineffable.
How shall I describe it for you,

58.1-17

1 O my son? []

[]

the places. How [shall I describe]

the All? I []

5 I see another Nous (νοῦς), he who []

the soul (ψυχή). I see the one who [] to me

through a holy sleep.³¹ Thou givest

me strength. I see myself! I am willing

to discourse! I am overcome (κατέχειν) with awe (φόβος) !

10 I have found the origin (ἀρχή)

of the Power (δύναμις) above all powers (δύναμις),

which has no origin (ἀρχή)!³² I see a well-spring (πηγή)
up with life.³³ I have said, O [bubbling15 my son, that I am the Nous (νοῦς).

I have seen < what > discourse cannot

reveal,

58.18-32

for (γάρ) the entire Eighth (ὁγδοός), O my son with
the souls (ψυχῇ) therein and the angels (ἄγγελος)
20 are singing (ὑμνεῖν) in silence.

But (δέ) I, the Nous (νοῦς),
understand (νοεῖν). What is the way
to sing (ὑμνεῖν) through it? You have become
impossible to address. I am silent,
25 O my Father.³⁴ I wish to sing (ὑμνεῖν)
to you while I am silent. Then (ἀλλά)
express it, for (γάρ) I am the Nous (νοῦς).
I understand (νοεῖν) the Nous (νοῦς) Hermes (Ἑρμῆς),
who is uninterpretable (ἐρμηνεύειν),
30 since He keeps watch within Himself,
And (δέ) I rejoice, O my Father, as I see
you smiling, and (δέ) the All

59.1-17

- 1 [rejoices]. Wherefore no
 prudence ([φρό]νησις) will be lacking in
 [your] life. For (γάρ) you are the Lord
 of citizens (πολίτης) every-
- 5 where. Your pronoia (πρόνοια) keeps watch.
 I call to you Father, Eternity (αἰών)
 of the Eternities (αἰών), Great Divine (θεῖον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 And through a spirit (πνεῦμα) He brings rain
 upon everyone. What
- 10 are you telling me, O my
 Father Hermes ('Ερμῆς)? Concerning these things
 I say nothing, O my son,
 for (γάρ) it is God's right (δίκαιον) that
 we be silent concerning that which is hidden.
- 15 O Trismegistus (Τριμέγιστος), let not
 my soul (ψυχή) become bereft (χῆρα) of vision (θεωρεῖα)
 divine (θεῖον), for (γάρ) you have power

59.18-34

- over everything, as (ὥς) Master
of the universe. Return to
20 the death-state,³⁵ O my son, and speak
while silent. Seek (αἰτεῖν) what
you desire in silence.
When he finished giving praise³⁶ he
cried aloud, 'Father, Trismegistus (Τριμέγιστος),
25 what shall I speak?'
We have received this enlightenment, and
I see this single vision (θεωρεῖν)
within you--
I see the Eighth (ὀγδοῦς), with the souls (ψυχή)
30 that are in it and the angels (ἄγγελος)
singing (ὕμνεῖν) unto the Ninth (ἐννεάς) and
its powers (δύναμις). Moreover, I see
Him possessing the
power (δύναμις) of them all, while He creates

60.1-17

- 1 spirits (πνεῦμα).³⁷ It³⁸ is advantageous that from now on
 we be silent in readiness ([-προ]πετήης).
 Do not discuss the vision (θεω[ρῶ])
 from now on. It is appropriate to sing(-ὕμνεῖν))
 5 to the Father until the day of putting off the body (σῶμα).³⁹
 What you express, O my
 Father, I too wish to express,
 < and > I sing (-ὕμνεῖν) within myself, just as (ὥς)
 you made yourself still < to be > at leisure for praise.
 10 For (γάρ) you have found what you seek.
 Moreover (δέ), what is appropriate,
 O my Father - that I offer praise since I
 am overflowing from my heart?⁴⁰
 And (δέ) what is appropriate is your praise, which
 15 you will send forth to God, and
 will be inscribed in this imperishable scroll.
 I shall send forth

60.18-32

- praise with my heart,
 imploring for the consummation of the All, and
 20 the origin (ἀρχή) of the origin (ἀρχή) of that
 which men seek (ζητήμα), the immortal thing that is found
 [(εὕρημα),
 the begetter of light
 and truth (ἀλήθεια), the sower
 of the Logos (λόγος), < which is > the love (ἀγάπη)
 25 of life immortal. No occult doctrine (λόγος)
 will < ever > be fitting to discourse upon Thee,⁴¹
 Lord. Wherefore my Nous (νοῦς)
 wishes to sing (ὑμνεῖν) to⁴² Thee
 daily. I am the musical instrument (ὄργανον)
 30 of Thy Spirit (πνεῦμα), the Nous (νοῦς) < is > Thy
 plectrum (πλῆκτρον), and (δέ) Thy will⁴³
 performs psaltery (ψάλλειν) upon me. I see

61.1-17

1 myself! I have received power⁴⁴ through Thee
because (γάρ) your love has confirmed us.⁴⁵

Well said (καλῶς), O my son. O the grace
which ensues!⁴⁶ I return grace⁴⁷

5 in singing (-ὕμνεῖν) to Thee,
for (γάρ) I received life through Thee
when Thou madest me wise (σόφους).⁴⁸ I
praise Thee. I call

Thy Name, which is hidden within me.

10 A W EE W HHH WWW III

WWWW OOOOO WWW

WW YYYYYY WW

WWWWWWWWWWWW

WWWWWWWWWWWW

15 WW . Thou art He who exists
with the Spirit (πνεῦμα). I sing (-ὕμνεῖν)
to Thee in a divine state!

61.18-32

- < As for > this scroll, O my son,
 write it⁴⁹ at the Temple of Diospolis (Διοσπολῖς)
 20 in characters of a scribe of the House of Life,⁵⁰
 entitling < it > (ὀνομάζειν) ,⁵¹ The Eighth ('Ογδοάς)
Reveals the Ninth ('Εννεάς).⁵²
 I shall perform it, O my son,⁵³ in the manner
 which you now specify.
- 25 O my Father,⁵⁴ < as for > the discourse
 of the scroll,⁵⁵ inscribe it upon the steles (στήλη)
 of turquoise (καλδαῖνος) . O my son,
 < with > this scroll, it is right to inscribe it
 upon turquoise (καλδαῖνος) steles (στήλη)
 30 in characters of a scribe of the House of Life
 For (γάρ) the Nous (νοῦς) Himself has
 become the overseer (ἐπισκοπος) ⁵⁶

62.1-17

- 1 of these things. Wherefore I command (-κελεύειν)
that this discourse be carved
upon the stone⁵⁷ and that you put it inside
my holy place.⁵⁸ Eight
- 5 protectors(φύλαξ) guard it⁵⁹ from [rays]⁶⁰
of the sun (ἥλιος); the (μέν)males
on the right are frog-faces (πρόσωπον),
the (δέ)females
on the left are cat-faces (πρόσωπον).
- 10 Moreover (δέ) place a stone
of milky whiteness (γαλακτίτης) at the base of
the turquoise(καλλάϊνος) tablets (πλάξ), it being
perfectly square (-τετράγωνος), and inscribe the name⁶¹ on
the sapphire-stone (σακφείρινος) tablet (πλάξ)
- 15 in characters of a scribe of the House of Life
O my son, you shall perform this
while I am in Virgo (Παρθένος)

62.18-33

- and the Sun is in Aries(κριός),⁶² the distance of
 a day.⁶³ Fifteen degrees(μοῦτρα)⁶⁴ bypassed(παράγειν)⁶⁵
- 20 me. O my Father,,
 everything which you said I shall
 gladly perform. Inscribe, furthermore (δέ),⁶⁶
 an oath upon the scroll, lest (μήπως)
 the Name (ὄνομασ(α))be put to
- 25 an evil purpose(κακουργ(α)) by those
 who will read the scroll, and not (οὔτε)to
 opposing the works of astral destiny(εἰμαρμένη).
 They should⁶⁷ be subordinate (-στοιχεῖν)
 to the ordinance (νόμος)of God,
- 30 having not at all transgressed (-παραβαίνειν),
 but rather (ἀλλά) in purity seeking(-αἰτεῖν)
 from God their wisdom (σοφ(α))
 and knowledge (γνῶσις). He who

63.1-17

- 1 is not in the beginning begotten by God
comes to be in general (γενικός)
and exoteric (ἐξωτικός) discourses (λόγος).⁶⁸
He does not measure up to what is written
- 5 in this scroll, although his conscience (συνείδησις)
is clear in respect to it, since he
does no shameful deed,
and does not approve (-συνευδοκεῖν)
of such. And yet (ἀλλά), by degrees (κατὰ βαθμούς)
- 10 he advances, entering into
the path⁶⁹ of immortality. And
just as he enters into the
understanding (νόησις) of the Eighth (ὀγδοάς)
which reveals the Ninth (ἐννεάς),⁷⁰ so also
- 15 shall I do it, O my Father. '<With> this
oath I adjure the one who will
read this sacred scroll, by the heaven

63.18-32

- and the earth and the fire and the water,
 and the seven rulers of substance (οὐσιάρχης)
- 20 and the spirit(πνεῦμα)within them as
 creator, and the begotten(γεννητός) God,
 and the Self-Begotten one (αὐτογενής)
 and him⁷¹ who has been begotten--that he⁷² observe (-τηρεῖν)
 the things which Hermes (Ἑρμῆς) said
- 25 And (δέ) with those who will observe (-τηρεῖν)the oath,
 God will be reconciled,
 as well as with everyone whom we have named (-ὀνομάζειν) .⁷³
 With those who transgress (-παρβαίνειν)
 the oath, however (δέ), the wrath
- 30 of each one⁷⁴ comes down
 upon such a one!⁷⁵ This is the fulfillment (τέλειος)
 which comes to pass, O my son.⁷⁶

Indices

Coptic Words

A

AMA2TE rule, prevail
55.25
AN negative particle
54.23; 56.16; 58.16,24;
59.12; 60.26; 61.2;
63.1, 4, 7, 8
ANAI be pleasing, beautiful
54.24,26
ANOK, NTOK $\kappa\tau\lambda$. personal
pronoun 58.4,10,15,21,
27; 59.27; 60.29
ANAM oath 62.23; 63.25
AIPW2 perceive 59.2
ATMOY immortal 53.21;
55.28; 57.25; 60.22,25
ATTAKO imperishable
60.17
ATMIBE unchanging
55.29
AQHT foolish 54.13
AYM conjunction
52.4; 53.4,8; 54.6,30;
56.14,30; 57.1; 59.8;
26,28,32; 60.19; 62.33;
63.11
AM who? what? interrogative
pronoun 53.31;
57.33; 58.3,23

B

BPBP bubble 58.13
BME sleep 58.7

E

E- (A-), EPO'' referential
preposition 52.4,19,31;
53.7,14,28,34; 54.26;
55.9,16,19,20; 56.12,17,
23,29; 57.5,6,31,32;
58.5,6,8,13,24,26,32;
59.6,14,16,27,29,31,33;
60.3,12,15,16,26,28;
61.1,2,5,8,17,21; 62.2,
3,5,5; 63.6,11,12,23
EBOA postpositive adverb
52.19,31; 53.11; 55.33;
56.7,23; 57.9,11,13,16
29; 58.7,17,22; 60.13;
61.22; 63.14
EMOY cat 62.10
EPHT vow, promise
52.2,9,11
EPHOY companion 57.27
ETBE because, concerning, on
account of; preposition 53.20;
59.1,11; 60.27; 62.1
EMXE conditional 52.12,28
EXN upon, of 55.25; 57.28;
59.9

EI. I

EI, NHY come, go
57.30; 63.12; 30
EINE, INE resemble; like-
ness 55.29

EINE, NT'' bring
52.3 (?); 62.24
EIPE, P-, AA'' O, OEI, E
do, make 52.11, 12, 22;
53.12, 24; 54.7, 19, 23,
24, 30; 55.5, 14, 20, 24;
56.13, 14, 27, 28; 57.26;
58.25, 28; 59.7, 17, 31;
60.1, 4, 8, 9, 28, 32; 61.5,
16, 23; 62.7, 9, 12, 22, 31;
63.7, 8, 15, 28
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OEI 56.26
E 62.7, 9

EIWP2 (AIPW2)
EIWT, IWT father 52.2,
21, 27; 53.11, 16, 24, 28,
32, 34; 54.14, 23, 31;
55.6, 10, 23; 58.25, 31;
59.6, 11, 24; 60.5, 12;
61.23; 62.1, 20;
63.15

ITN ground, bottom part
62.11

K

KE other, another
53.20

KEOYA 54.23
KOYEI child 54.11
KW put, place
61.7; 62.10, 16

KIM move 55.33; 56.12
KPOYP frog 62.8
KAPW4 silence 56.12; 58.20;
59.22

KAPW'', KAPAEIT be silent
58.24, 26; 59.14, 21; 60.2
KWT, KOT'' build, edify
54.27; 59.19
KA2 earth 63.18
KW2T fire 63.18

λ

λAAY anyone, -thing; something
59.1, 12; 63.7

M

MA place, location
55.31; 58.3 (?); 59.4,
19

ME, MAEIE love 57.28; 61.2

ME, MIE truth 53.22; 54.6

MOY death 59.20

MMO'' particle: genitive, parta-
tive, adjectival, attributive,
objective, reflexive--pronominal
53.13, 16, 23, 32; 54.6; 55.14, 24;
56.13; 57.7, 20, 29; 58.10, 30;
59.10, 18, 33; 60.6, 9, 32; 61.24;
62.20, 21; 63.28

MMN-, MNTE'' not be
57.7; 58.12

MN- negative imperative particle
59.15

MN, NMMA'' with, and
 52.29; 53.25,27,29;
 54.15,22; 55.12,13;
 56.26; 57.22,22;
 58.18,19; 59.1,15,29,
 30,31; 61.16; 62.18,
 32; 63.3,9,18,18,18,
 19,20,21,22,23,26,27
 MNTH fifteen 62.19

MHNE daily 60.29
 MNTNOYTE divinity
 61.17

MNTNO6 greatness
 56.16

MNTPMN2HT wisdom
 54.8

MNTPPO kingdom
 55.25

MA† (†)

MOYTE speak, call
 59.6; 61.8

MTON, MOTN be at rest
 54.5 (?); 60.9

MOOY, MOY- water
 59.8; 63.18

IMOY rainwater 59.8

MEEYE consciousness
 52.3,12; 54.7

HIMEEYE remember
 52.12; 54.7

MOOHE walk, go
 56.32

MA2- ordinal number pre-
 fix 52.4,5; 53.25,26; 55.15

MOY2, ME2-, MH2 fill, be
 complete 56.10; 60.13

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N-, NA'', NH'' referential
 preposition 52.10,15,20,
 22; 54.15,25,28,29;
 55.22; 56.23,25; 57.4,5,
 20,24,33; 58.8; 59.10,11,
 61.4

NAY see

57.6,31,31; 58.5,6,8,13;
 16,31; 59.27,29,32; 60.32

NHY (EI)

NKA thing 56.8

NIM every, all

52.21; 55.32; 56.5,8,10,
 32; 59.5,9,18; 62.21;
 63.27

NCA-, NCM'' after, subsequent
 to

MNCA, MNNCM'' 52.5; 61.4

NOYTE, PNOYTE god, God

55.14; 59.8; 60.15; 61.17;
 62.29,32; 63.1,26

NTAPI- when, since; verbal prefix
 52.11,14,19; 59.23;

61.6

N6I- subject particle
 52.18; 58.16; 62.25

O

O great 59.7

O, OEI (EIPE)

II

PAI, TAI, NAI demonstrative
 pronoun 52.6,8; 53.20;
 54.17,25; 55.30; 57.7,20,
 28; 58.17,29; 59.1,11;
 60.27; 62.1,1; 63.15,31

PE, TE, NE verbal enclitic
 52.5,8; 53.7,18,21,22,30,31;
 54.3 (?),6,22; 55.11,19,19,
 20,29,29; 57.33; 58.22,27;
 59.13; 60.11,14,29; 61.15;
 63.31

- PE heaven 63.17
 PEEI, TEEI, NEEI; PEI, +
 dem. art. 52.23, 30; 53.15;
 60.16; 61.28; 62.2; 63.5, 14, 17
 ПШ'', ТШ'', НШ'' poss.
 pronoun 55.18, 19, 20
 ПРАНШ, ПРАЕШ scriptorium,
 library, House of Life
 61.20, 30; 62.15
 YIC, YEITE, YITE
 nine 52.6; 53.26
 ПШ2 reach, extend
 55.16; 56.24, 27
 ПЕХЕ-, ПАХЕ- what...says
 52.6, 25
- P
 PH sun 62.18
 PW enclitic particle
 62.30
 PUME man 52.10; 60.21
 MNTPWME humanity 52.10
 PAN name
 53.13; 61.9; 62.13
 HIE temple 61.19
 PPO king 55.25
 POEIC be awake, watch
 62.5
 PAHE rejoice
 57.28; 58.31; 59.1 (?)
- Q
 QUBE laugh
 58.32; 59.1 (?)
 CMOY bless, pray
 57.10; 59.23; 60.9,
 14, 18; 61.8
 CON; CNHOY brother; brothers
 52.28; 53.8, 27, 29; 54.21
 CMINT be created; creation
 56.8; 59.34; 63.21
 CNAY two, both 55.9
 CОПШ pray, entreat
 60.19
- CPHE be at leisure for, occupied
 with 60.9
 CITE to sow 60.23
 PEHCITE sower
 COOYN, COYMN- know 53.8;
 57.10
 COTH be high, great 56.16
 CAMY seven 63.19
 CA4 yesterday 52.2
 NCA4 yesterday
 C2AI, C2AEI, C2EEI, CA2''
 write; writing
 60.16; 61.19, 20, 26, 28, 30;
 62.13, 15, 22
 CA2 master 59.18; 61.20, 30; 62.15
 C2IME; 2IOME woman; women 62.8
 CA2NE provide 61.24
 OYA2 CA2NE (idiom) to command
- T
 †, MAT give 52.5; 53.9, 13;
 56.23; 57.3, 5, 23, 24; 58.7;
 59.8; 62.27 uncompounded,
 compounded and imperative
 TAEIO glory 56.17
 TBBO, TOYBAEIT purity
 62.31; 63.6
 TNNOY send 57.20
 TONTN, TNTMN'' be like
 54.10
 †NOY, TENOY now
 52.23; 53.23; 54.15;
 60.1 (?); 4; 61.24
 THP'' all 53.28; 55.12,
 12; 57.12, 17, 21, 23; 58.4,
 12, 18, 32; 59.19, 34; 60.19;
 62.30
 TWPE hand; by hand of
 NTOOT'' 55.8; 57.9, 19
 2ITOOT'' 55.18; 57.11, 16;
 58.22
 TAPKO swear, adjure
 63.16
 TCABO, TCEBO- make wise,
 instruct 54.30

TAEIOOY glorify
53.9

TOYXO make whole
57.23

TA2O confirm
61.2

OY

OY what? 59.9,25

OYA one

POYA POYA each one

52.13; 54.31; 55.17; 63.30

OYAA'' alone, self
56.9; 61.31

OYEIE distance 62.18

OYUW cease, finish 59.23

OYAAB holy 58.7; 63.17

OYBE opposite

†OYBE oppose 62.27

OYON someone, -thing

56.6,10; 59.9; 63.27

OYON, OYN, OYNТА'' be, have

52.28; 53.6,16; 56.8;

58.9; 59.17,33; 62.4

OYOEIN light 55.27;

57.30; 59.26; 60.22

OYNAM right (hand)

62.7

OYUW2 reveal, be revealed;

revelation 58.17;

61.22; 63.13

OYUWIE holy place(?) 62.4

OYPAT be eager; gladness

62.22

OYUWT single, alone, one

and same 53.11; 59.28

OYOEIU time, occasion

53.5; 56.31

OYUWU, OYAU'' wish, desire,

love 53.34; 55.30;

56.30; 58.8,25; 59.22;

60.7,28

U

U exclamation

52.2,7,20,27,30; 53.6,

17,24,28,34; 54.9,13,

18,23,31; 55.6,10,10,

23; 57.27; 58.1,14,

18,25,31; 59.10,12,

15,20; 60.12; 61.3,

3,18,23,27; 62.16,20;

63.15,32

UU, U-, EET conceive, be preg-
nant 52.18,19

UNE stone 62.3,10,14

UN2 live; life

55.31; 58.14; 59.3;

60.25; 61.6

UU, UUU-, AU'', OU'' reckon,
count 52.29,31; 53.26

UUU read 63.17

U

U- know how, be able

57.32; 58.24,29; 60.26

UA, 2A, UAPO'' up to 55.17,29;

56.5,10,25; 57.30; 60.5

UA ENE2 forever 55.29

UKAK cry, shout 59.24

UHA pray 53.27,32;

54.21; 55.8,9,13,

23

UAEU shame, disgrace

63.7

UA6, UAE6- sunray 62.5

UPOYNE eight 52.4;

53.25; 55.16; 62.4

UINE seek 60.10

UWIE, WOO be, happen, befall

52.9; 53.10,14,18; 54.8,10,14,

16,24,27,29; 55.27; 56.4; 57.2,

16,18,24; 58.23; 61.15,32;

62.17; 63.2,32 [55.1]

- MHPB child, son
 52.8, 26, 30; 53.6,
 15, 17; 28, 30;
 54.10, 18, 22;
 55.10; 57.27; 58.1,
 15, 18; 59.12, 20;
 61.3, 18, 23, 27;
 62.16; 63.32 [55.2; 56.4]
- MHPH, MHPH-, MOPH begin;
 beginning 54.18;
 56.27; 63.1
- MHTA lack 57.7; 54.17
 MHTH be equal to
 63.4
- MHE be fitting, proper
 53.10; 55.11; 60.4, 11,
 13; 61.28
- MHE word, matter, dis-
 course 52.21, 23, 29;
 53.22, 25, 31; 54.20, 26;
 55.6, 21, 28; 56.11; 57.32;
 58.16, 24; 60.3, 26; 61.25;
 MONE counsel [62.2, 20
 60.31
- MHTT carve out, cut
 62.2
- 4
- 4I carry, bear
 56.9
- 2
- 2AH last thing, end
 60.19
- 2E way, manner
 MNE N- like, as
 52.26; 53.15, 31; 54.11;
 55.8; 58.3, 22; 61.23;
 63.12, 14
- 2I on, at, in
 62.9
- 2IH way, path, road
 63.11
- 2M self; but, also
 53.16, 26; 55.20; 59.9;
 60.7 pronoun of emphasis
 or contrast
- 2MB; 2BHYE thing, work; works
 59.18; 62.27; 63.7
- 2IOME (C2IME)
 2MOT grace, gift
 61.3, 4
 M2MOT give thanks
 61.4
- 2N in, among
 53.9, 11; 54.9; 55.4 (?);
 11, 22, 31; 56.7, 7;
 12, 29, 32; 57.4, 21, 27;
 58.7, 14, 20; 59.2, 4, 8,
 22; 60.2, 13, 18; 61.17,
 20, 30, 30; 62.15, 15, 17,
 22, 25, 31; 63.1, 2, 5
- EBOA 2N from
 52.19; 56.24
- 2OYN inward part
 E2OYN 52.3, 5; 53.33;
 62.24; 63.10, 12
 N2OYN 62.3
- 2MHI, 2HPI hide
 60.26; 61.9
- 2PAI verbal enclitic, sense of
 "up" or "down"
 52.15, 17, 17, 25; 54.17;
 56.9; 58.14, 30; 59.28; 60.8; 61.11
 E2PAI 57.21; 59.18; 60.15,
 18; 63.30
- 2APE2, APE2 keep, guard
 58.30; 59.5

2HT heart; inner, inward
 52.17,17,25; 54.8,18;
 55.12,33; 56.9; 57.11,
 13,21,24; 58.19,30; 59.28,
 30; 60.8,18; 61.11; 63.20
 often occurs as:
 2PAI N2HT within
 2E+E, 2E+ to flow
 52.20; 55.22
 2ITN under, through
 52.14,31; 57.5,9
 2MTN be reconciled with
 63.26
 2WT(E)P, 20TP- be
 joined 53.33
 200Y day 60.5; 62.19
 200YT male 62.6
 2A2 many 52.28
 2IXN upon 58.11

XWUPE mighty 56.14
 XOEIC, XOIC, NXOEIC lord, Lord
 56.22; 57.3; 59.3; 60.27
 XICE, XOE exalt, be lofty,
 high 54.17; 56.15
 XOOY, XOOY'' send
 60.15,17

6

6BOYP left (hand)
 62.9
 6OM, 6AM power, strength
 55.26; 57.23; 58.8; 59.17;
 61.1
 6M6OM, 6M6AM be able
 55.21; 58.16
 6INE, 6N- find
 54.21; 58.10; 60.10

X

XE that, namely; conjunction
 52.6,24,26; 53.21; 54.26;
 58.15; 59.24
 XI, XEI receive, take
 52.14; 55.7,18; 57.8,12,18;
 58.2 (?); 59.24,26;
 61.1,6
 XM, XE- say, tell, speak
 52.10,12,21,24,24;
 53.20; 54.12; 56.25;
 57.33; 58.3,6 (?),14,
 27; 59.10,12,20; 60.6,7;
 62.21; 63.24
 XWK fulfill, complete
 56.31
 XEKAAC in order that
 53.30
 XWUME, XUME, XAME scroll/generation
 52.29; 53.12,12,33; 54.9,16,
 25,32; 60.16; 61.18,26,28;
 62.23; 63.5,17
 XIN- from
 53.23; 58.2 (?); 60.1,4
 XNO beget, bring forth; acquire 52.20,26,27;
 53.14; 55.27,31; 57.15,17; 63.1,23
 XNO begetter 60.22

Greek Loan Words

α

ἀγαθόν 52.30

ἀγάπη 60.24

ἄγγελος 58.19; 59.30
[56.2]

ἀγέννητος 57.13

αἰτεῖν 55.14; 59.21;
62.32

αἰών 56.7; 59.6,7

ἀλήθεια 54.20; 57.4;
60.23ἀλλά 54.5; 58.26;
62.32; 63.9

ἀνάγκη 53.6

ἀνόητος 54.12

ἀντιλογία 53.23

ἀόρατος 56.11

ἄρα 52.27; 53.15

ἄρχεσθαι 52.11; 53.24

ἀρχή 58.10,13; 60.20,
20

ἀσπάζειν 57.26

αὐξάνειν 53.19; 55.5

αὐτογενής 63.22

αὐτογέννητος 57.15

β

βαθμός, -ον 52.13; 54.24

βάθος 57.31

γ

γαλακτίτης 62.11

γάρ 52.10,19,24; 53.12,18;
56.32; 57.11,13,
28,31; 58.17,27; 59.3,
12,17; 60.10; 61.2,31

γενεῖδος λόγος 63.2-3

γέννητος, -ον 57.14,17;
63.21

γνώσις 62.34

δ

δέ 52.9,22; 54.32; 55.28;
58.21,31,32; 60.11,13,
31; 62.8,10,22; 63.29

δίκαιον 59.12

διοικεῖν 56.13,14

δόναμις 52.14,18,24;55.7;
56.15,24; 57.29;
58.11,11; 59.32,
34

δωρεά 55.15

ε

έβδομάς 56.27

εί μή τι 54.24

είκων 56.13; 57.4,7

είμαρμένη 62.27

ένέργεια 52.15; 53.19

έννεάς 56.26; 59.31;
61.22; 63.14

έξωτικός 63.3

έπικαλεῖν 55.24

έπίσκοπος 61.32

έρμηνεῖν 58.29

έρρημα 60.21

έύσεβής 56.28

ζ

ζήτημα 60.20

η

ήδη 56.27; 57.28

ήλικία 54.11

ήλιος 62.6

θ

θαῦμα 52.22

θετον 59.7,16

θεωρία 56.25; 59.16,27;
60.3

κ

κακουργία 62.55

καλ(λ)άινος 61.27; 62.11

καλώς 52.22,30; 53.9;
61.2,5

κατά 52.9; 54.16,28

κατέχειν 58.9

κελεύειν 61.2

κλαῦμα 60.5 (?)

κριός 62.18 (?)

Δ

λογική θυσία 57.18
λόγος 55.26; 60.24,25

Ξ

μᾶλλον 54.32
μέν 52.8,16; 55.19;
62.6

μήπως 62.23
μοῖρα 62.19
μορφή 55.32; 57.7

Υ

νοεῖν 54.19,23,30; 55.20;
58.22,28
νόησις 52.16; 54.28;
63.13
νόμος 56.29; 62.29
νοῦς 58.5,15,21,27,28;
60.27,30; 61.31

Ο

ὀγδοός 56.26; 58.17;
59.29; 61.21;
63.13
ὀνομάζειν 61.21; 63.28
ὀνομασία 62.24

ὄργανον 60.29

ὄργη 63.29

ὅταν 54.19

οὐσία 55.33
οὐσιάρχης 63.19
οὔτε 62.25

Κ

παραβαίνειν 62.30; 63.29
παράγειν 62.19
παράδοσις 52.6
παρθένος 62.17
πελθεσθαι 53.34
πηγή 52.19; 55.22; 58.13
πλάξ 62.11,14
πληκτρον 60.31
πλήρωμα 57.8
πνεῦμα ΠΝΑ 52.14; 53.31;
56.8; 57.5,10;
59.7,8; 60.1,30;
61.16; 63.20
πνευματικόν ΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ 53.17
πολιτεύεσθαι 56.29
πολίτης 59.4

πρόβλημα 54.12
 προκοπή 54.6,14
 πρόνοια 54.15; 59.5
 προπετής 60.2
 προσφωνεῖν 53.13
 πρόσωπον 62.7,9
 ρ
 σαπφείρινον 62.14
 σοφία 56.23; 57.25;
 62.33
 σόφος 61.7
 στήλη 61.27
 στοιχεῖν 62.28
 συνεδῶσις 63.5
 συνευδοκεῖν 63.8
 ι
 τάξις 52.6,8
 τέλειος 63.31
 τετράγωνον 62.13
 τηρεῖν 63.26
 τύπος 57.8

υ

ὑμνεῖν 58.20,22,25;
 59.31; 60.4,8,
 28; 61.5,16

φ

φόβος 58.9
 φρόνησις (reconstruction) 59.2
 φύλαξ 62.5
 φύσις 55.32

χ

χῆρα 59.16

ψ

ψάλλειν 60.32
 ψυχή 53.20; 54.27; 55.13;
 57.12,22; 58.6,19;
 59.16,29 [56.1]

ω

ὥς 52.17; 53.10,14; 59.18;
 60.8

Proper Names

Διδσπολις 61.19

Ἑρμῆς 58.28; 59.11; 63.24

Τρισμέγιστος 59.15,24

Κριδς (6C) 62.18

ΠΡΑΝЩ, ΠΡΑΕЩ 61.20,30; 62.15

РН 62.18

Παρθένος 62.17

Notes to the Translation

1. This line probably contained the missing title of the treatise. (So M. Krause, "Der Stand," p. 77; J. M. Robinson, C. G. L. T., p. 398; J. Doresse, Secret Books, p. 243; P. Dirkse, "Introduction," p. 1.)
2. There is one other occurrence of the substantive MEEYE in the treatise (55.9). The other two related occurrences (52.12; 54.7) are in the compound verb $\overline{\Pi}$ MEEYE meaning literally "to make a thought, remember."

I, however, do not wish to confuse the translation by equating Coptic MEEYE with Greek nous. In view of the possibility that our tractate might have been composed in a Hellenistic-Coptic native tongue, it must be important to distinguish the technical meaning of the two words. If, on the other hand, our tractate is simply a translation of an older Greek composition, as (for example) the Coptic Asclepius of the codex, there remains the difficulty of demonstrating that Greek nous and Coptic MEEYE are perfectly synonymous.

According to Crum (200a), MEEYE as a substantive is used to translate many different Greek words, with diverse shades of meaning, such as logismos, noēma, ennoia, dianoia, epinoia, phronēma. Often it is used to translate mēmosynon, mneia, mēmē, and quite consistently the verbal compound with EIPE (P-) to translate anamnesis, "memory," Crum does not list MEEYE as an independent substantive translating Greek nous, and I myself know of no such instances.

Thus even if it were assumed that Tractate 6 were a translation from a Greek original, there is little evidence to suggest that MEEYE is a synonym for Greek nous. It would instead be probable that the scribe had been translating Greek words meaning "reason," "perception," "thought," "mental process" or even "memory," "remembrance."

It can be argued that the other occurrence of MEEYE in this tractate (55.9), strongly reminiscent of Deuteronomy 6.4-5 and the New Testament parallels to Mark 12.29-30, might have translated Greek diánoia (both in the New Testament and some LXX variants). But this word means "thought," that is, intellectual process. It does not refer to the nous itself.

In the Hermetica, intellectual process is often seen on the Platonic model of "remembrance," as in the verbal compound of MEEYE, or "recognition" (cf. C. H. I.18). Nous, on the other hand, is compared in the present tractate (60.27-32) to the plectrum of a harp or lyre. It is more than an object of redemption (cf. C. H. I.6, the henōsis of divine and human nous as noetic communion). It is also the medium for divine communion and theōria, and as such the instrument for transmission of what I call "noetic" or nous-associated process. This noetic process is MEEYE, which might be translated "thought, mind." But here it is a special sort of "thought." It is an "understanding thought," both a process and a subject. Nous, however, is an instrument and an object, and is at one point identified with the spiritual teacher of the dialogue, Father Hermes Trismegistus (58.15).

I maintain that the English word "consciousness" carries more specifically the sense of what is meant than such a word as "mind" or "thought."

3. It is at this point in the discourse that the relationship of Hermetic teacher and student is first clarified, and the dynamic process of Hermetic initiation is revealed. Noësis or understanding has been created in the student through his whole curriculum of general and exoteric discourses, and stands now as the receptor for divine birth, through the instrumentality of the dynamis conceived within the teacher. As it is later said, the student's part is to understand (noein), while the teacher's portion is to be able (literally, "to have power," 6M6OM) to deliver the discourse (55.19-22), which originates from the well-spring of God which flows to the teacher.

In the teacher's discourse, the student receives dynamis (55.7). The Father of the All is God, and in like manner the father of the student's spiritual birth is the Hermetic teacher. He prays that more noësis will come to the student or son (54.29), so that he will learn. When the son understands (noein) the spiritual truth of his observation (54.17-18) that new pronoia has been gained by him to fulfill what has been lacking and incomplete, then he will discover his "brothers" praying with him in a kind of communio sanctorum (54.18-22).

In being spiritually begotten by the father or what we might call the "Hermes," the son enters the brotherhood of the Ogdoad, to perhaps later ascend to the status of the Ennead as an initiator or Hermes himself, existing as a dynamis in the pleroma of God overseeing the brotherhood.

4. This conception of palingenesis is based, like other Gnostic schemes, on the paradigm of sexual generation. Grammatically, and thus theologically, "spirit" is masculine and "power," which is feminine and within the Father, is impregnated from the divine well-spring of spirit, issuing from the eternal

source, unity and origin of all things (cf. 58.10-14; 60.20). From this union was begotten another power, which was transmitted to the son as "energy" (cf. 52.15-16). The pneumatic brothers of the son are described as "energies" who assist in the process of palingenesis (53.17-21). To become a pneumatic, numbered in the scrolls of life, the son must be implanted with a "power," for only feminine "power" can receive masculine "spirit" (cf. 52.14f). "Energy," also feminine, seems to be the mode of activity for which "power" is the hypostasis (53.19).

5. Here and in 59.23 the dialogue falls into a narrative. "He" refers to the Father.

6. Dirkse in his "Introduction," note 7, raises the problem of how to translate and interpret the Coptic word $\chi\mu\mu\epsilon$ (52.29; 53.33; 60.16; 61.26; 63.5,17), which also appears as $\chi\mu\epsilon$ (53.12,12; 54.9,16,25; 61.18,28; 62.3). It is clear from a passage such as 61.26-28, where the noun spelled $\chi\mu\mu\epsilon$ is referred to as $\chi\mu\epsilon$ in the next phrase, that the two spellings are the same word. It is also apparent from the above-mentioned section, as well as 63.17, that $\chi\mu\mu\epsilon$ can refer to the scroll or book of this treatise itself. One unusual spelling occurs in 54.32, $\chi\mu\epsilon$, which is not to be found in Crum's Coptic Dictionary or either of Kasser's Complements to it.

Dirkse proposes that $\chi\mu\mu\epsilon$ is at some places to be translated "book," but at others "generation." He seems to base this on the fact that Crum (p. 770b) records one S and B spelling of $\chi\mu$ "generation" as $\chi\mu\mu\epsilon$ and Kasser one spelling $\overline{\text{MNT}}\chi\mu\text{HT}$ in his Complements 1974

(p. 107) which may help explain the odd spelling XAME of 54.32. Dirkse is also aware that the two words XWME and XWM are etymologically related in Egyptian, so that a "book" is often a genealogy tracing nobility to divine origins, as in the case of the Coptic word XHME (not included in Crum or Kasser), or the Demotic dm^3 (ⲃⲙⲓⲛ, pp. 678-9 in Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar*), which seems to be a written mention, monument or "remembrance" (μνημεῖον) of a person or a god (cf. Erichsen, p. 679, Corp. Pap. Nr. 23).

But even in Demotic Egyptian the words "generation" (dm^1 , ⲃⲙⲓ) and "papyrus scroll, book" (dm^c , ⲃⲙⲓⲛ) are quite separate in spelling and distinct from each other. The final guttural $-^c$ of the word for "book" is always taken into S, A, A² and F as a final -E or -I, whereas dm , XWM , adds the extra -E only in A² (cf. Crum, p. 770b). In Demotic, Erichsen makes no mention of a double vowel for dm , whereas for dm^c the double vowel was quite current in the later Roman-Hellenistic period (cf. Erichsen, p. 679-80, ⲃⲙⲓⲛⲓ). The one instance quoted by Crum of XWME for XWM may very well be simply a graphical dittography. According to Steindorff (Lehrbuch, p. 35), the doubling of a vowel, as we have in XWME occurs only in Egyptian words which were originally trilateral stems ending in the gutturals Aleph or ^cAyin, as we have in the Demotic root dm^c , "book." That trilateral roots allow for a vowel change from -W- to -A- in the same word can be seen in Crum (cf. S, S^a 2BWC, 2BAC, p. 659b), although the interchange of -O- and -A- within Sahidic is more usual (cf. Crum, p. 127, KOT, KAT: p. 342b CON, CAN: p. 339b, COMC, CAMC). Therefore it seems possible that all the spellings

ⲭⲱⲙⲙⲉ are from the root $\underline{dm}^c$ and should be translated "book" or "scrolls"; that the clear identification of the spelling ⲭⲱⲙⲙⲉ with the spelling ⲭⲱⲙⲙⲉ (cf. 61.26-28; 63.17) indicates the same word for these; and that ⲭⲁⲙⲉ is a possible spelling of the same word. ⲭⲁⲙⲉ is in fact a more likely spelling of ⲭⲱⲙⲙⲉ than ⲭⲱⲙ because of the final -E, which stands for the older final -^c of $\underline{dm}^c$. Generally, then, and in agreement with Krause ("Der Stand," p. 87, cf. 53.33; 54.9: "die Bucher"), I have translated the word as "scroll."

On the other hand, as Prof. Turner points out to me, there is the Bohairic reading listed in Crum which takes the demotic guttural -^c over as ⲭⲱⲙ. This indicates the potential unreliability of the criteria I've elaborated in this argument. Krause, too, has apparently decided for the two-word theory in the period after his paper was presented to the Messina conference in 1966 ("Der Stand," op. cit.). In his translation of the text (Codex VI) he arbitrates between "book" and "generation." His only criterion seems to be the sense that the passage requires.

It is precisely this ambivalence of word meaning, however, that lends credence to the hypothesis of native Coptic composition. Apparently the word djome has a mystical double meaning which the composer of the tractate likes to keep undifferentiated. Being "written in the Book" is synonymous with being adopted, legitimately born or "joined to the generations." It is no coincidence, then, that our Hermetic initiate is told to write down the words of the discourse through which he was reborn, and deposit this certificate of legitimate birth in the

Temple of Diospolis, written in characters of a scribe of the House of Life. This writing somehow seals the "joining" to the generations (books?). It is his birth monument. Again, this mystic ambivalence comes out in such phrases as, "in the wisdom from the books (generations?)," in which wisdom might be seen as learned through reading of Hermetic scrolls, or through inspiration by Hermetic "brothers" who "increase" or help other souls. At another place (63.4) it is said that the seeker "will not be equal to those written in this book (generation?)," which may refer to the powers and virtues written by name in the scroll, or to the great saints written of in this scroll, or to the saints themselves written of, or even mystically "inscribed" in this book! In fact, the mystic identification of the "brothers" with ogdoadic energies and the father with aeonic powers in Hermetic theosophy creates a further ambivalence of meaning!

Because of the existence of Valentinian mysticism about the "living djōome of the living, written by the Nous of the Father" (Gospel of Truth, f. X.35), which serves as the generating point for Valentinian pneumatics (interpreting the "Book of Life" of the Christian Apocalypse), I am inclined to think that the prime meaning of djōome as used in Tractate 6 is "book, scroll."¹ The secondary mystic meaning comes through the Hermetic concept of divine regeneration and the close pun on the Coptic word for "generation." This, then, indicates the strongly literary orientation of the Hermetics, in their mysticism of the book and the creative power of inspired discourse.

7. Literally, "reckons through." The verb in line 31 is the same as

¹One is reminded also of the Egyptian tradition of Thoth and the Book in Egyptian mythic judgement stories.

in line 29. It is the son's initiation as a pneumatic which reckons, counts, recognizes, esteems "by the hand of" or through whatever follows in the lost lines of the following plate.

8. This is a difficult section. The text runs ΠΧΛΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΧΛΜΕ ΑΕΙ-
ΠΠΡΟCΦΛΗΝΕΙ ΜΜΟC' ΑΕΙ†ΠΑΝ ΕΡΟC. . . . Does the writer again use a
vulgar form of repetition for emphasis of meaning, (cf. 52.10; 57.31)
or is this an iteration with distributive sense? There is a strong em-
phasis upon the person of Hermes as an actor or initiator in the repeated
ΑΕΙ ΠΠΡΟCΦΛΗΝΕΙ. . . ΑΕΙ†ΠΑΝ, "For I addressed each generation (or,
scroll) . . ." As such it seems most likely the iteration is to be taken
distributively, "generation by generation, each generation (or, scroll)."

The iteration of djome here may have a double function in the text.
Here it serves to emphasize the repeated "I," or person of Hermes.

9. Literally, "I gave a name." The metaphor is of a legal birth
certificate for legitimacy of offspring. See 53.33, where the brothers
are spoken of as legally "joined unto" the scrolls (plural).

10. The Coptic is: ΟΥΝΤΑΥ 2ΜΟΥ ΜΜΑΥ. Here ΜΜΑΥ may be either the

usual adverbial complement of the verb, untranslatable, or possibly an object. The other occurrences of this form in the tractate do not clarify the usage (53.22 and 59.33 $\overline{MAY}$ appears in absolute form; 52.28 and 56.8 the verb occurs without $\overline{MAY}$). I have translated the phrase in its absolute sense, literally "Do they also possess?" Prof. Turner points out that since the topic has concerned the fatherhood of the teacher to his "sons," it is not inconceivable that $\overline{MAY}$ could be taken as an object, "Do they also have a mother?" If taken absolutely, as I have translated, the unexpressed object might be PAN, "Do they also have [names]?" Or the questioner might simply be asking if the brothers are able to possess goods. At any rate, the question is not existential, anticipating the teacher's declaration that "they are Pneumatics." That is, the student is not asking if the brothers "have reality," or questioning the sort of existence they enjoy. This is not grammatically possible. Rather, the student is referring back to the teacher's statement about naming each generation, or possibly to the topic of the teacher's fatherhood.

11. The son's dialogue usually begins with the formal "O my Father." It is absent here, however, until line 24. Who speaks lines 22-23? It is problematic, if the son is speaking, that he considers the Father's words to be truth only "from this point on." Indeed, in the context of the son's infusion with energy and power, it seems quite likely that the Father is declaring the son to be filled with truth "from this point on." It marks another stage in the progress of the son to the desired pneumatic state. It can be objected that the son's next question (53.31-34) is

mildly rebuked by the Father (54.9-12). Yet it is not rebuked as "false," but as childish (in keeping with the allegory of birth), and the son himself refers to the progress or advancement which happened to him "just now (54.14-15)."

On the other hand, if the words are spoken by the son, it intensifies his following statement that he wishes "to fully believe," to be fully persuaded (53.34). This implies that the son is now declaring his readiness to exclude all doubt and to progress entirely in faith.

12. The Coptic word ⲙⲁⲗⲉ , which I usually translate "discourse," has a multiplicity of meanings (not unlike the Hebrew dabar). Here it could just as well mean "word, matter, revelation." Notice that the ⲙⲁⲗⲉ itself begins from this point on (cf. lines 22-23, "Your word is truth. It has no ἀντιλογία from this point on."), and is inaugurated with a prayer of invocation.

13. This Gnostic name of God is found in many traditions (cf. Apocryphon Johannis, Nag Hammadi Codex II, at plate 52.21; Codex Brucianus 1.2 and XXIX.30; et al.). It seems to be the Coptic equivalent of the common Greek, ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὅλων (Poimandres, C. H. I.21; cf. Philo of Alexandria, Ebr. 30; Virt. 34, 64, 179, 214) or πάντων πατήρ (Josephus, Antiquities 1.20, 230; 2.152 et al.).¹ The phrase refers to God as the originator and creator (or, as here, progenitor) of all things. Here God is addressed as the Father of the All in his role as spiritual regenerator, for the sake of the son's rebirth as a pneumatic.

¹Bauer, pp. 567; 636-38; 640-42.

Krause, (Codex VI, p. 172) translates the lines, "lasst uns beten,
o mein Sohn, zum Vater des Alls mit deinen Brüdern, die meine Kinder
sind."

14. Hermes bids them pray with the brothers to the Father, in the manner of a communio sanctorum. That the brothers are praying with them is indicated again in lines 32-33, where the son asks the "childish" question about the manner in which spiritual beings pray.

15. The Coptic expression is 2MTP E2OYN E-, which has the legal sense both of an employer hiring an employee, or man and woman being joined together in marriage (Crum, p. 726a). The metaphor of a hieros gamos fits neatly into the whole allegory of pneumatic generation by male and female forces.

16. Possibly this is the word "love," since the masculine form of the copula follows (although HE is the normal copula). The same confusion exists at 57.28, where again the indefinite OYME leaves the gender of the noun in question, and thus the meaning. Since the context here concerns the student's anamnestic progress in learning by reading the scrolls, the word "truth" seems to be correct. Again, in every case the word "scroll" could be translated as "generation." But in this section the sense seems to be that the student has in the past read Hermetic discourses in preparation for his initiation as a Pneumatic. This education has brought him progress (54.7) and a vision of his own Psychic nature (54.24f.).

17. What is Hermetic pronoia? The references in the C. H. I.19 and XII.14,21 include mention of cosmic elements such as heimarmene, anagke and physis, and refer to pronoia as a cosmic organon or instrument which works through astral destiny ordering the processes of union and sexual generation. Pronoia is concerned with the process of "things which exist and things which are coming into existence (XII.21)." In the case of the Corpus Hermeticum, then, pronoia seems to be a hypostasis of God, such as the Barbelo or aeon Pronoia of the Apocryphon Johannes. In this mode of thought, perhaps aeons like Propater and Pronoia (properly capitalized) are better translated as "Primal Father" and "Primal Thought" rather than "Forefather" and "Forethought," in spite of the difference usually recognized between Greek pro- and proto-. The word pronoia is never used in the Corpus Hermeticum to mean "foresight," the idea of prophecy or foretelling. When such an idea is brought up, another word is used, such as in Tractate VII.19, prolegein.

On the other hand, the word pronoia is mentioned in the present tractate not only as a faculty of God (59.5), but here as an element of revelation somewhat parallel to concepts like "progress," "the beautiful thing" which happens to the soul, and "edification (see note 41)." The work of pronoia in the spiritual begetting of the son is evident not only as the hypostatic activity of God, but as an active process of regeneration. Perhaps it refers to a mystic or clairvoyant faculty of communication. It then hasn't quite the persona of such a conception as the Hermetic Nous, who appears in C. H. I as Poimandres. Here again my distinction between Greek nous as an instrument and object of noetic

process (cf. note 2) and coptic MEEYE as the process and subject is useful. Pronoia, it seems to me, includes elements both of instrument and process and should not be confined to one meaning. For this reason I have not capitalized it or rendered it "Primal Thought," nor have I simply substituted a word like "provision." Neither attempt is adequate, and it seems best to transliterate the word without capitalization.

18. Many meanings are possible here. Possibly kata is to be taken distributively and djome as "scroll," so that the proper interpretation would be, "the pronoia from each scroll," that is, scroll by scroll, degree by degree. Prof. Turner suggests the interpretation, "by generation," the pronoia which occurred to the student came by way of generation, or even as a kind of family inheritance. I have translated it differently, mindful that the student is not yet "joined" to the generations, but may be able to experience pronoia concerning that state.

19. The Coptic is difficult at this point, with NAI²² following the word "lack." Krause (Codex VI, p. 173) emends it to the masculine demonstrative pronoun with "lack" as its antecedent and translates the section in this way: Vater, der Fortschritt, der mir jetzt zuteil geworden ist, und das Vorherwissen in den Büchern, das mir zuteil geworden ist, ist grösser als der Mangel. Diese waren

früher in mir. I have taken NAI, however, as a preposition, "to, for me," parallel to N2PAI N2HT, "within me." Literally it would seem to say, "greater than the lack to me within me," which I have rendered into a less awkward form in English. My reading requires no emendation.

20. This makes it clear that the "edification" which the son has received in the past is not identical with the goal of the present tractate, which is "understanding." The parallel language (lines 27 and 29) "which came to you . . . let come to you" emphasizes these stages.

21. Here, and in the verb "to pray" in the following line, the last letters are unclear. Interestingly, the son's childish question (53.31f.) about the manner in which the "brothers" pray is now answered in practice. Compare the parallel language. Here the pronominal "they" can only refer to "the brothers," who earlier were associated with the verb "to increase" (cf. 55.5 and 53.19). Apparently the mutilated text of 55.1-4 refers to spiritual singing and the spiritual brothers.

22. The word logos is written here, perhaps a dittography from line 26, and crossed out with the Coptic OYUW "will" written above.

23. I have chosen to allow the prayer to retain its flowing unity and its mounting dramatic sense by connecting each clause with the implicit relative pronoun. For example, I have translated HAI ETE as "Whose" in every case, and the clauses beginning with the articular H-

(56.6 et al.) as relatives. This is permissible in Coptic (Till, 461f., 484, 486), and is a common form for prayer—the divinity is named and/or invoked, followed by a listing of his attributes in relative sentence structure ("O NAME, Who . . . , Who . . . "). This is common in the Greek magic papyri (P.G.M. XII.40f.; VIII.92f. et al.), in credal material (I Tim. 3.16; Phil. 2.5-11), and in most forms of prayer and invocation. Perhaps the best argument for my translation is found in the parallel hymn and prayer of the other Hermetic initiation tractate, C. H. XIII. In section 17, especially lines 20f., the participial form of praise for the Divine Name is used. At the end of C. H. XIII, in section 21, when the disciple tries to offer "rational sacrifice" in praise as the teacher has done, he says, "God, thou my Father, thou the Lord, thou the Mind . . ." It would be possible to break up the Greek assuming the implicit copula to render, "God, thou art my Father, thou are the Lord, thou art the Mind . . .," as the Coptic often can be rendered in such cases. However, by so doing the overall unity and hymnic flow is destroyed, as well as the general form of prayer and invocation so common in Greek, and preserved even today in the ancient prayers and collects of Christian liturgies. The "long" translation using relative clauses is, in my judgment, to be preferred to chopping it into short phrases.

24. The Coptic $\text{CE}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{IOIKEI}$ must be emended to $\text{EC}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{IOIKEI}$ to make sense. Otherwise the literal sense, "They move his image as it is being governed and they govern," lacks a pronominal reference and makes no sense. The "they" is simply the impersonal reference in Coptic passive construction. Thus CE- must be a metathesis for EC- , "she," the "image"

which is moved (56.13).

In order to emphasize the astrological technical sense, I have translated dioikein as "governed," since the astral governors are literally "house-managers," the seven planetary rulers who preside over the twelve zodiacal "houses." The "image" of God is the sensible cosmos (C. H. I.9), the intelligible cosmos (C. H. IV.11,12; V.2.6), which is a god and the "Son of God" (cf. C. H. XII.15; 16 et al.). The whole eikōn of God, the cosmos, is astrologically set in motion by the Demiurge (C. H. I.11f.) under the physical governing of the seven planetary deities, whose rulership is called Heimarmene. Thus the astral cosmology of Hermetic philosophy appears to be implicit in the obscure references of this passage.

25. A complete analysis of the meaning of these vowels and the form of invocation is attempted in the main text of this dissertation. According to my theory, the powerful words and vowels have been altered in ancient translation for reasons of piety, and our text does not represent the original formula. (cf. 61.10f.)

26. As Krause¹ points out (p. 79, n. 3), Doresse's translation of Xm was "show forth." However Krause, Dirkse and I agree to translate the verb "say, tell." The Coptic verb always implies verbal communication, as I have seen it used. However the mystic paradox of "speaking" rather than "seeing" or "showing forth" a vision remains of interest.

27. Or, "we have already reached." This, in any case, marks a new

¹"Der Stand"

phase of liturgical action. Krause¹ (p. 78; cf. 79, n. 1) stresses the implication that the "Seventh" is a stage of initiation, and as such a stage mainly concerned with legal or conventional practice rather than visionary experience.

28. The Coptic appears () K̄M N̄CHN() P̄ ET̄H̄M̄E . The verb demands EBOA and nota accusativi, leaving space for a three-letter noun ending in -P having pejorative meaning. The most likely possibility is XHP (Crum 780b), a masculine noun meaning "wantonness." Possibly a noun from MOYP (cf. Kasser Compl. 29b, MHP) meaning something like "fetter, bond" is indicated. However it seems most likely to me that the best restoration would be, "... we forsook the wantonness which exists ..."

29. It is unclear whether this phrase refers to the morphe or the eikon. Although the Greek Hermetic literature never refers explicitly to the "flawlessness" of God's eikon, the cosmos, it seems clear from the entire thrust of such tractates as C. H. IV, concerning the Monad, and the reference in C. H. V.2, that the image of God is perfect and without lack. The anthropology of C. H. I.12f. indicates that the Anthropos was a morphe of the Father's eikon, co-equal but with a flaw. My guess here is that the phrase in our tractate, 57.9, literally "this which has no lack," refers to the eikon of God, the word which the phrase syntactically follows.

30. Krause, in "Der Stand," pp. 87-88, translates, "küssen," with

¹"Der Stand"

this comment: Diese Aussagen stellen die Frage, ob man 1. noch von einem Schulbetrieb sprechen kann oder schon von Versammlungen einer Gemeinde und 2. von sakralen oder mystischen Handlungen. Here Krause has certainly posed one of the critical problems of Hermetic studies.

31. This seems to be the height of mystic vision, the visio beatifica of Hermetic religion. The student "sees himself," in a sort of cosmic enlightenment. His Nous has been opened to the inflow of divine power (cf. 57.29-30, "the power which is Light is coming to us," perhaps comparable to the cleansing decad of C. H. VIII, and the "limitless vision" of C. H. I). This state of "sleep" is what in Poimandres is called "true wakefulness," and seems to be what in another place in Tractate 6 is called "death" (59.20).

Basilides idealized a final state of blessed ignorance (Hippolytus, Ref. VII.20-27), which may be somewhat parallel to the meaning here. The original vision of Poimandres comes in a state of half-sleep (C. H. I.1f.), and the Nous is dissolved into a vision of pure light. It is clear that BE is simply a reduced form of MBE, "sleep." This is a feminine form, and explains the verbal prefix EC-. The proper form of Circumstantial as adjective when following an indefinite noun (cf. 54.17, note 19) is consistent with grammatical form here.

32. This may refer, through the relative, to either arche or dynamis. The following clause describes a vision of the well-spring or primal "source." Yet earlier (52.19f.) the stream from the spring is called dynamis. Here the meaning is ambivalent and mystical.

33. The form is OYWN2, which may be translated either as the indefinite OY- and the noun WN2, "life," as Krause thinks (Codex VI, p. 177), or the noun without article meaning "revelation." The concept of a fountain of life is present in other Hellenistic literature, and Bauer points up such references as Dio Chrysostom 15 (32); 15; John 4.14; Rev. 7.17; 21.6. For pēgē zōēs cf. Prov. 10.11; 13.14; 14.27.

I would still want to maintain the possibility that in this Hermetic tradition, as a Coptic tradition, we could have here a pun on OYWN2 and WN2, and that possibly the concept of the well-spring means not only the older symbolism of the source of generated life, but of spiritual life as revelation in what I have called "noetic" process. That is, the pēgē here is not referred to as a pēgē zōēs, but a pēgē bubbling up with as perhaps both "life" in the generic sense with indefinite article, and "revelation" in a more specific sense as a case of Artikellosigkeit (cf. Till, 104), or a case of syncopated orthography.

34. Literally, "I am close-mouthed." Silent praise did not involve words spoken through the mouth.

35. MOY, "death," is here a positive term. As in many other mystic traditions of the Roman-Hellenistic period, the metaphor of death and sleep was apparently used in reference to elevated states of consciousness—here, a meditative silence.

36. Another narrative portion (cf. 52.26-27).
37. The grammar must be editorialized $N2\bar{M}(\Pi)\Pi\bar{N}A$ since it otherwise is unintelligible. The indefinite plural can be taken as a way of expressing genus or kind, thus "He creates spirits" or "spirit." If instead the beginning $N-$ is dropped, the translation would be, "He creates in the spirit."
38. I.e., the feminine dynamis or power of creative generation.
39. Krause ("Stand," op. cit., p. 79) first speculated the following reconstruction: $\Pi A \Phi O O Y \bar{N} K \lambda (A Y) M A$, "until the day of mourning." He now has arrived at a much superior restoration, which seems to me undoubtedly correct: $\Pi A \Phi O O Y \bar{N} K A (C) \Pi M A$ (Codex VI, p. 179).
40. The Coptic word $2HT$ is not synonymous in this tractate with either $MEEYE$ or nous (cf. 55.12 et al.). The idiom is $MH2 EBO\lambda$ followed by $2\bar{M} \Pi A2HT$, literally, "filled up" followed by "in my heart," or in another equally possible arrangement, $MH2$ followed by the locution common to this tractate $EBO\lambda 2N$, which yields my translation. Further, note the parallel meaning in 60.18.
41. Or, "to Thee," or, "concerning Thee." $EPOK$.
42. Again, $EPOK$. Parallel to 60.26 in meaning.
43. The Coptic word $\Pi O \bar{X} NE$ is very regularly substituted for Greek boulē (cf. Crum, 616a). On the other hand, $OY \Pi \Pi$ is used at least eight

times in this tractate for "will." Here, perhaps, "will" is in the sense of "counsel."

44. The Coptic word 60M, rather than the Greek dynamis. Cf. 59.17.

45. A possible translation: "This is because your love has confirmed us well, O my son." This, however, is improbable, as it is the father's power which elevates them, not the son's. Grammatically, kalos is an idiom in the Corpus Hermeticum and Tractate 6 which begins dialogue.

46. Literally "after these things."

47. The Coptic idiom is usually translated "to give thanks," but I have rendered it literally in order to preserve the word-play on "grace."

48. Or, as Dirkse, "Since Thou madest me wise, I am praising Thee."

49. The idiom is CA24 E-, which Dirkse translates, "Copy (this book) in (the temple of Diospolis)." Krause¹ (p. 78, cf. notes 5,6) translates, aufzuschreiben fur. The pronominal masculine suffix apparently refers to the "book," but Dirkse's implication is that the book existed first as a sort of stenographic recording of the initiation discourse which was then to be copied in the temple. The grammatical construction and language do not indicate quite so specific an implication, yet I think Dirkse has inferred correctly.

50. This unusual phrase occurs three times in two spellings: 61.20, 2ENC2AĪ N̄CA2 ΠPAÑIII ; 61.30, 2NC2EEI N̄CA2 ΠPAEIII; and 62.15,

1"Der Stand." In Codex VI, p. 181, he uses schreiben.

2NC2AEI NCA2 ΠPAEIΠ . Krause, in "Der Stand," does not indicate his interpretation of the phrase, but Dirkse uses the phrase, "in hieroglyphic characters." If this is correct, it has great significance.

The meaning of the phrase really hinges upon the word ΠPANΠ, or ΠPAEIΠ. I would argue that the first spelling preserves the intelligible roots ΠP- , "House of," and AN2 , from root of Sahidic ΠN2 (A change to Π, and Π change to 2 is common, cf. Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik, pp. 5f., 8f.), literally "Life." This sort of form using the shortened ΠP- for ΠEP , "house," without interconnecting genitival particle, is common in Coptic for place names (cf. Crum, 267a). The subachmimic AN2 is common for Sahidic ΠN2, and the long vowel-sound AEI- is also typical of the dialect of this tractate. Ultimately the Middle Egyptian root is ank, "life." The Demotic term "House of Life" is common (cf. Erichsen's Demotisches Glossar, pp. 10, 63f.).

The most exhaustive treatment of the Egyptian "House of Life" is to be found in Alan H. Gardiner's article, "The House of Life," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 24, Pt. 2, December, 1938. In the main text of this dissertation I have summarized Gardiner's conclusions.

Although I am certain from parallel context that ΠPAEIΠ is the same word as ΠPANΠ, I am unable to adequately explain the omission of Coptic -N- and substitution of I, EI. The problem needs the attention of a specialist in Demotic.

51. I maintain that Greek onomazein must follow the idioms for Coptic MOYTE and -PAN, which with E- mean "to give name to." Or, the E- perhaps is miscopied from the grammatical ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ. To read "naming

the Eighth, <a> revelation of the Ninth," XE must also be supplied, but after ΕΘΓΔΟΑC . While this emendation may be textually more simple, the recurrent implication in 63.13-14 makes me suspect strongly that this is a title. In any case, the syncopated orthography for ΟΥΟΥΜΝ2, ΟΥΜΝ2, is according to Prof. Turner quite frequent, and the textual meaning seems relatively unchanged by either option.

52. I think this is the lost title (cf. 63.13-14).
53. Text reads "son." Is this a mystical exchange of identity?
54. Text reads "Father." It is the Father who is speaking.
55. Literally, "the discourse of the scroll, inscribe it . . ."
56. The plural article is used, so that literally it reads, "has become the overseers of these things." The plural is probably by attraction to the plural of the demonstrative form ΝΝΑΙ, 62.1.
57. The definite article indicates reference is to the aforementioned turquoise tablets.
58. The Coptic is ΠΑΟΥΜΝΙΕ, which seems best separated into the singular, masculine, first-person possessive "my," and a previously unattested form of ΟΥΟΠ , "holy, pure." Dirkse's guess is "sanctuary," and I generally concur.
59. I.e., the holy place.
60. My own collation yields this: Α2Ν(..)ΛΕ(. This is probably

from the Coptic $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{G}}$, "ray," (cf. Crum, 563a), and completes the context nicely, in the form $\text{A2}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{G}} > \text{A2}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{G}}$.

61. Coptic PAN. This may refer either to the divine name of God (cf. 56.17f.; 61.10f.), or to the title of the tractate (cf. notes 70, 73).

62. The Coptic word is abbreviated $\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{C}}$.¹ I concur with Dirkse that this is for Greek krios, "ram" or the zodiacal constellation Aries. This fits context and is parallel to the preceding 62.17, Hermes (the planet Mercury) in Virgo ("the Virgin"). On the other hand, the abbreviation could stand for "Lord," in which case reference would be to Hermes in the Virgin and $\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{E}}$ in perhaps Osiris (thus "Virgin" means Isis?). In favor of Krios is 63.8, where $\overline{\text{G}}$ appears for $\overline{\text{K}}$ in this tractate.

63. The Coptic reads literally $\text{OYEIE } \overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$, "a distance of a day." In comparing this directive to the conventions used in the Greek astrological terminology of Neugebauer and Van Hoesen's Greek Horoscopes (Philadelphia, 1959; cf. nos. 81:210; 376a:19 et al. from Glossary, hēmera, p. 194b), it is clear that our tractate does not follow any norm. If $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ be taken as a translation of Greek hēmera, and OYEIE as an unknown feminine form of the Coptic word OYA , "one" (a morphological anomaly), a possible translation might be, "the first hour of the day." This, however, assumes that our Coptic represents the Greek convention, $\alpha/\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$. Since $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ is masculine, however, and would require a masculine form of OYA , this solution must posit also a grammatical anomaly.

¹According to Greek Horoscopes (op. cit.), index, p. 195b, the usual forms for abbreviating krios are kri and krio. These, however, appear at ends of lines. It is common to abbreviate nomina sacra with first and last letters, and in the present context seems likely here.

Krause (Codex VI, p. 182) amends Π6C OYEIE to Π6COYA, "The (first) half." This solves the problem of the Sun and Mercury being too far apart by implying they are 15 degrees apart (62.19), but requires too much emendation and interpretation (see my notes 62 and 64).

In "The Old Coptic Horoscope," Cerný, Kahle and Parker (JEA, Vol. 43, 1967, pp. 86-100), the Coptic word 200Y is not used for Greek hēmera (which, as in the Greek convention, specifies hours of the day, cf. p. 97, Col. V.126 et al.), but signifies the birthday itself 200YMICT̄, cf. Index, p. 96b). That is, the Coptic term 200Y, "day," refers to the natal solar day, while hēmera specifies the hour. Astrologically, the apparent motion of the sun is through one degree of its zodiacal setting each "day" (200Y). The hēmera, or 24-hour period, must be measured not for the solar position, but for the setting of the faster moving planets and positions, i.e., the degree of the moon (which passes through some 12 degrees each 24-hour period) and of the Ascendant (horoscopus, cf. Greek Horoscopes, p. 7). Thus ΠE200Y must be the birth date itself, rather than the specific natal horoscope detailed to the actual hour. Our rubric, then, signifies a particular day of a particular month. The sun is in Aries, "a distance of a day." The sun is one degree in Aries. According to Neugebauer and Van Hoesen (op. cit., p. 3), the formula for converting Egyptian or Alexandrian to Julian dates is based upon "Augustus 0 Thoth (I) = -30 August 29." The intercalated days of the Egyptian calendar were always five, while in the Alexandrian a sixth was added every four years. Thus for three-year periods the first of Thoth = August 29, and the fourth year = August 30. At this

date the sun is approximately entering the sign Virgo, indicating that the date signified by Tractate 6 must have fallen in the spring on or about the first of Pharmouthi (roughly the last week of March). No further accuracy can be attained since the astrological directions specify only the degree of the Sun, and of Mercury in its exaltation.

64. The Greek word moira in the genitive is technical horoscopic terminology for the designation of "degrees." In O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen's collection, Greek Horoscopes (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 196, the word is indexed well over 70 times. Every occurrence is in the form, "moirōn 'X'," of, "'X' number of degrees" in a specified sign (cf. No. 282, PSI 765, lines 10-17, p. 62, et al.). As the word appears here in the context of astrological terms, it undoubtedly specifies "degrees" of the ecliptic.

65. I cannot find special uses of the verb paragein in astrological terminology. The Glossary of Neugebauer and Hoesen's Greek Horoscopes op. cit.), p. 197, lists the verb parodeuein as meaning "to pass by." The verb is used to describe a military maneuver in which one column of soldiers is marched up to align with another (L. S. J., p. 1307). It refers to military order in chariot ranks as well. Astral phenomena are often compared to wheels, and planetary motion to chariot paths. It seems reasonable to envision fifteen degrees of Virgo bypassing Mercury--especially since Mercury was in its exaltation on the fifteenth degree of Virgo (cf. Greek Horoscopes, p. 7).

Noting that Mercury in Virgo and the Sun in Aries are both in their

astrological exaltations, which is an astronomical impossibility, I searched far and wide to see if there might be an astrological explanation.

Prof. Robert P. Kraft, Chairman of the Board of Studies in Astronomy and Astrophysics at the University of California in Santa Cruz, has helped me develop a theory about this cosmic horoscope. The Sun cannot be in Aries when Mercury is in Virgo, since Mercury as an "inner" planet never has an apparent elongation from the Sun of over 28° . Aries and Virgo are some 150° apart. The period of Mercury, 88 days, allows for it to go apparently retrograde some four times in an earth-year. It appears to move along-side the sun but slightly faster, until its elongation or apex of orbit is reached, then appears to stop and regress while the Sun catches up and surpasses it for another 28° . Mercury is not normally visible to the naked eye, due to its proximity to the Sun. Only on special occasions when the two are at maximum elongation can Mercury be seen, optimally twice each year at sunset in the Western horizon, and twice at sunrise in the Eastern horizon.

Prof. Kraft confesses that he has seen Mercury with his naked eye only once in his career--so rarely do weather and atmospheric conditions permit--and he believes that the actual visual sighting of Mercury must have been a unique event for the ancients. If even once a year conditions permitted a sighting, it would be rare fortune to actually see it.

It is significant also that our treatise specifies the Sun to be in Aries and Mercury in Virgo, since these two are what is known as the "exaltations" or hypsōmata of the two planets (cf. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos

I.19). In fact, fifteen degrees in Virgo, as specified in Tractate 6, was considered to be the exact exaltation of Mercury (Greek Horoscopes, p. 7).

Mr. Cyril Fagan, President of the Irish Astrological Society, has written an informative and seemingly sound research monograph on the hyposomatic zodiac entitled, Zodiacs--Old and New (Los Angeles, 1950), in which he described (pp. 19f.) the concept of planetary "hiding places," mentioned in a fragment of a Babylonian cuneiform tablet (B. M. 55466+55486+55826) from about the second century B. C. The "hiding place" is that part of the zodiac "in which a star or planet disappeared from the night skies and reappeared at its heliacal settings and risings, respectively" (p. 19). "Mystically," says Fagan, "they (the 'hiding places') were invested with the greatest importance. With the Egyptians to whom all the stars were gods, the heliacal setting of a star in the West (Amente) was regarded as its 'death,' as it sunk into the Duat ('Underworld') in the company of the Sun personified as the aged and mummified god Atum" (p. 20). In a footnote Mr. Fagan observes that the hieroglyph for Duat was an ideogram representing the Sun in conjunction with a star. Mr. Fagan's thesis is that the tradition of planetary "exaltations" originated in the year 786-85 B. C. when all the planets heliacally set with the Sun in their now-traditional signs of exaltation by great coincidence, disappearing from view for the rest of the year, or rising after a long absence. In each case the planet would be seen for some time as a bright "day star" in morning or evening skies.

Whether or not Mr. Fagan's theory is correct, the phenomenon he

describes provides an excellent model of the astrological conditions described in our tractate. In an astrological milieu which depended upon naked-eye observation rather than the more sophisticated astrolabe (which indicated planetary positions even when invisible to the eye), the phenomenon of heliacal rising and setting of Mercury at sunset on the Western horizon must have been impressive. This would have been a rare event, seen only by those who faithfully scrutinized the sky at dusk.

According to C. H. I.29, Hermetic worship was done at sunset. C. H. XIII.16 exhorts Tat to worship as the Sun sets and during the night. Hermetic worshippers, then, would have had great opportunity to glimpse their patron planet Hermes or Mercury at the rare times of its manifestation, weather conditions permitting.

There can be no doubt as to the time of year specified by the Sun in Aries, since the Sun is always "visible," has no retrograde motion and "heliacally" sets every night. The time is early spring, perhaps the Coptic month Pharmouthi (cf. Greek Horoscopes, op. cit., p. 3). Mercury, if it were visible, may be no more than 28° from the sun, i.e., in Aries, Pisces or Taurus.

If, however, the last sighting of Mercury had been the preceding fall, in the sign of its "exaltation," Virgo, it would be a rare year in which Mercury (Hermes) had set or come to rest in the Virgin. This would explain our cryptic rubric, "when Hermes is in the Virgin and the Sun in the Ram." The fifteen degrees moving on the horizon would appear to "wheel past" Hermes--perhaps signifying that Hermes was deep in

"sleep," or "death," that is, exalted meditation (c.f. 59.20, "Return to death, O my son."). Possibly the solar portion of the zodiac is meant, in which Hermes would be hidden from view by his proximity to the Sun. In either case, the astrological rubrics of our tractate specify that both Sun and Mercury must be in their respective "exaltations" for the writing of the scroll.

The hypsōmata or "exaltations" were prominent in Egyptian astrology before the time of the Ptolemies, says Fagan. "In the two zodiacs found in the Temple of the Ram-headed god, Khnum, at Esneh (137 B.C.), the planets, personified as gods, are shown in the signs of their exaltations. They are similarly portrayed in the circular zodiac (now in the Louvre, Paris) from the small Temple of Osiris at Denderah (A.D. 17) (op. cit., p. 14)."

Fagan points out that in the sacred literature of India the great avatars and heroes are styled as born with all planets in their exaltations or dignities--an astronomical impossibility, as I have already shown. This suggests astrological reasons for directing the Hermetic initiate to carry out the sacred writing of the "birth" scroll in the Temple of Diospolis under the exaltations of Hermes and the Sun. The scroll must have been regarded as a sort of certificate of sacred birth. While the natal horoscope of the initiate has now passed into obsolescence, it is appropriate that the writing of the sacred "birth-certificate" be undertaken in accordance with cosmic harmonia. Thus his birth as a Pneumatic is signified by an ideal horoscope, with planets in their exaltations, as for a god.

Finally, it must be noted that a glance through astrological ephemeris for 1930 through 1959 indicates that Mercury is at its elongation in Virgo--i.e., could possibly be visible to the naked eye in Virgo--only about every six or seven years. Since each zodiacal sign encompasses 30° , leeway must be allowed for estimation and outside circumstances such as weather conditions. Assuming that Mercury were visible at its elongation from the Sun every seven years in Virgo, the coincidence of its being in the fifteenth degree, or degree of exaltation, for its heliacal setting with the Sun in Virgo must be a very rare occasion--perhaps rare enough that an astronomical dating of our manuscript could be achieved.

To date the tractate astronomically using this data, one would have to find a time previous to the middle of the fourth century A.D. when Mercury was at its elongation from the Sun in the fifteenth degree of Virgo. Unfortunately the mathematical variables make such an attempt unreliable. It appears, then, that the astrological directions specify a particular temporal setting--year and month.

66. This implies that the tractate itself is the "scroll" to which there has been constant reference, because the tractate contains the very oath spoken of in these lines.

67. Professor Turner thinks that the $\overline{\text{ETM}}^\dagger$ construction might be a negative infinitive phrase of purpose in adversative relationship to the previous $\text{E20YN E}-(\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma)$ phrase, indicating an originally Greek construction of $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ clauses (negative purpose), the second being negative

infinitive. "... and not for opposing the works of Destiny." Line 28 would then be adversative (Till, 364), "Rather . . ." This would continue from "Inscribe," line 22, as the actual substance of the oath. This possibility would speak against my theory of original composition in Coptic. This, however, could just as well be evidence of native Coptic, which had not only assumed Greek loan-words, but on occasion even grammatical constructions, such as the present one.

68. The text literally reads, $\bar{N}(\Gamma)ENI\Gamma OC (\lambda)O\Gamma OC \bar{M}\bar{N} \bar{N}E\bar{E}\bar{M}\bar{A}IAKOC$. Genikoi logoi are mentioned in other Hermetic literature, such as C. H. X.1 and XIII.1, but just what the exōdiakoi (sic.) might be is debatable. The footnote to C. H. X.1 in the Nock-Festugière edition (pp. 112f., n. 2) suggests the logoi diexodikoi mentioned by Cyril, c. Jul. 553 A, which Reitzenstein differentiated from the genikoi (Poimandres, p. 117). Scott (*Hermetica*, p. 286, vol. I) changed the Latin exotica of the Asclepius I.1 to diexodica, which he presumed was from the Greek diexodikos (p. 287, n. 7).

In order to presume the word to be zōdiakos, the full form of the plural article must be explained as a scribal error, as well as the use of eksi (x) instead of zāda (z). Furthermore, there is no parallel term in Hermetic literature to hypothetical zōdiakos logos. Yet the long $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{i}$ a diphthong certainly suggest zōdiakos.

On the other hand, the Latin Asclepius (1.6 in the Nock-Festugière

edition, pp. 296-97) refers to conscripta...exotica (translated by Festugière as "ouvrages 'du dehors,'" that is, exoteric writings). This is undoubtedly correct. Scott's restoration to diexodikos, taking it in reference to rhetorical technique ("explanatory writings"), is unjustified. Krause's emendation of exōdiakos to exodikos, it seems to me, is wrong in its context of Tractate VI for the same reason.

Since the Latin word exotica in the Asclepius refers to a category of Hermetic discourse or writing, and by this fact is our best clue to Coptic exōdiakos of Tractate 6, let us examine the context of the terminology in the Asclepius.

The Latin Asclepius begins with Trismegistus' instructions to Asclepius that God has brought him to the teacher, and that if he listens and understands, his "consciousness (mens)" will be filled with the Good, since the present discourse is more effectively inspired than all the other discourses. Hermes then bids Asclepius to summon Tat, who enters the "sanctuary (adytum)" to sit in divine silence and awe. Asclepius asks that Ammon be allowed to enter as well. To this Trismegistus replies that he does not begrudge this permission, "for I am mindful that to his name many of my writings have been dedicated (conscripta), as also many of my discourses on nature (physica) and exoteric things (exotica), which are numerous, have been addressed to Tat, my most beloved and cherished son."

Thus Tat, who is invited by Hermes to attend the discourse to Asclepius (which is more potent and inspired than previous treatises), has, at the point represented in the Asclepius, been a hearer only of physical and exoteric logoi. He now reaches a new point in his progress, and is admitted to the adytum. The Asclepius represents a higher stage of discourse than the physica exoticaque, which to this point have been the substance of Tat's instruction. Many discourses at various stages of secrecy in the Corpus Hermeticum refer to Tat and his progress.

Those which are addressed to Tat are C. H. IV (the kratēr), V (visibility of the invisible God), VIII (nothing perishes), X (the Key), XII (Nous in men) and XIII (initiation or rebirth). C. H. X.1 states that it is an epitōmē or summary abridgement of the genikoi logoi, which have been addressed to Tat. This indicates that (Greek) genikoi discourses include the categories of (Latin) physica exoticaque. As the note to this section in the Nock-Festugière edition points out (p. 357, n. 9), Plutarch (2, 1115b) opposes exoterikoi dialogoi to physika hypomēmata, suggesting the same categorization as the Asclepius. Taking quam with exotica alone, the Nock-Festugière translation reads (in English), "my physical treatises and a multitude of exoteric works."

The extant Hermetic discourses never refer to themselves as genikoi. C. H. I is spoken of as an epitome of the genikoi, but here reference is made to a previous class of discourse which is not extant. Specific kinds of discourse are named in the Hermetica. C. H. IX.1 mentions a teleios logos given the previous day, and that the present discourse is peri noēseōs kai aisthēseōs. C. H. XIII.1,13 refers to itself as peri palin-genesias, again referring back to previously given genikoi logoi. In these cases, then, the extant discourses, which present themselves as secret teachings given to one, two (or three, in the Asclepius) privileged disciples, are regarded as different from, or a summary of, the genikoi logoi.

Tractate VI and C. H. XIII are delivered in privacy to only one disciple. The treatises on rebirth clearly are held more sacred than the other secret teachings, since Tractate 6 ends with an initiation oath in full form, and C. H. XIII.22 a special exhortation to secrecy which may be the more public, literary remnant of the sort of oath found in Tractate VI. The initiation or rebirth discourses presume a long period of previous discipline, through which one has prepared himself to become alien (apal-
lotrioun) to the cosmos.

Thus in the Hermetica there are three general categories of discourse: the general lessons or genikoi logoi, of which some of the treatises of the Corpus may be a part (although this is not specified); the summary epitomes of the genikoi and treatises on specific subjects, such as C. H. IX and X; and the initiation discourses, which comprise the Mystery Liturgy of Hermes Trismegistus.

Within the genikoi were included topics bearing on the physical existence (physica exoticicae) and other subjects fit for exoteric exposition—probably moral and cosmological philosophy.

At a higher stage of progress, the student was introduced to the epitome-literature (grand summaries, like C. H. X, the Kore Kosmou and the Asclepius) and special discourses, many of which are extant in the Corpus Hermeticum. This category deals with the soul, the senses and other psychic topics.

Finally the student was ready for initiation as a Pneumatic, to be reborn as a spiritual being, and receive the Mystery Liturgy in the form of a transforming, dynamistic discourse like C. H. XIII and Tractate 6. At this point he was begotten by the spiritual Father or Hermes into the brotherhood of the Ogdoad as a perfected soul.

Clearly the term indicated by exōdiakos (sic.) is exōtikos, "exoteric."¹ The interchange of Greek tau for Coptic dalda is well known in Greek loan-words, as also the interchange of kappa for Coptic gamma in our tractate's word genigos, for genikos. Since the -iakos adjectival ending is very common in Greek, it could easily have been confused with the more common -ikos. This, indeed, may represent an error of hearing, rather than sight, and point to phonological reasons for the orthography in our text.

69. Or, "road," a term frequently used in mystic and spiritual disciplines, including primitive Christianity (Acts 9.2f., et al.). Prof. Turner points out it may have astrological significance as a celestial or planetary "path."

70. Title and subject of tractate, I maintain. Cf. notes 51, 52.

71. Apparently referring to the son in the tractate, but possibly also to the genneton of 57.17. Yet here the idiom is, "the one who they gave birth to him," or, more properly, "the one who has been begotten."

72. The "one" of line 62.16, i.e., whoever reads this scroll. We today who read this holy book are bound by oath to "take care concerning what Hermes says!" Interestingly enough, this is precisely the task of the scholar.

73. This use of onomazein with the MMOOY following adds weight to my argument in notes 51 and 52 that the title of the tractate is preserved in the text, for here the sense is "to specify," rather than

¹Cf. Lampe, G.W.H., A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961-), p. 504a. Exōtikos in Just. Imper. Ep. Thdr. Mops (p. 68.22; M 86.1091C), e. tēs idias syggeneis, and cf. Cod. Afr. 81, "outside the Church." But cf. Olymp. Eccl. 1:8 (M 93.8456), logoi...tēs e. ...sophias, where exoteric discourses or treatises are meant.

"to give name to," and appropriately the verb uses an N- form following, rather than the E- form of the other occasion.

74. Each one can refer to those who transgress the oath. However, I think the phrase refers to each of the elements and astral rulers previously invoked.

75. The passage reads literally, "the wrath of each one comes down upon him." Prof. Turner sees the objective genitival sense, "the wrath due each one . . ." This is just as likely.

76. Prof. Turner suggests, "This is the really perfect thing/one, O my son," trying to reconstruct a Greek Vorlage. This is quite possible, since the qualitative of the verb ἵσταναι is often used this way. However, this translation fits no immediate context, while my translation relates directly to the oath which has been said, so that the Father's comment on the oath confirms that such a fulfillment, i.e., blessing and cursing, will befall those who piously or impiously use the scroll. "This," of the Father's last sentence, refers directly to the fulfillment of reconciliation or divine wrath, and provides a fitting postscript to the son's oath in its more specific implications.

PART III

Literary Considerations

Not a great deal is known about the development of the literature of Hermes Trismegistus. Perhaps the most authoritative research on the subject has been done by Fr. Festugière in his first volume of La Révélation.¹ Here he describes the Thoth-Hermes tradition, which had emerged as a syncretism by the time of Herodotus, in relation to Egyptian hieroglyphs and Greek philosophy. Thoth was a scribal figure, a secretary and arbitrator for the divine child Horus-Harpocrates. He was associated with the manifestation of all the "virtues" of Isis--magic, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, writing, various technologies and the whole of priest-craft. In some traditions he resembled the Greek Logos or Sophia in his creative work.

The Greek Hermes, who was honored as "the grand, the grand" perhaps as early as 196 B.C. and became known in the triple superlative,² was the psychopompos or guide of souls after death, the great inventor of the lyre, the scientist and physician, the divine messenger and hermēneus or interpreter. It was in his later roles as hermēneus and hōroskopos that Hermes became the expounder of philosophy and mysteries.

Logia are attributed to Hermes Trismegistus early in the Christian era.³ Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Lactantius and Cyril of Alexandria speak

¹A.-J. Festugière, La Révélation D'Hermès Trismégiste, volumes I-IV (Paris, 1944-54)--hereafter cited La Révélation. For above, cf. volume I, pp. 67-88.

²*Ibid.*, volume I, p. 70.

³Cf. Nock-Festugière, volume IV, pp. 102f.

respectfully of the sayings of Trismegistus concerning the elevation and unknowability of God. Cyril identifies "Trismegistus" with the Christian Trinity.¹ It is possible that there is some connection in oral tradition between the Poimandrēs of Hermes and the Christian Poimēn of Hermas, at least in formal categories if not in actual sources.²

By the 3rd century Clement of Alexandria describes the books of Hermes carried in procession by temple officials, perhaps of the Serapeum, as forty-two in number. Thirty-six of these contain the "philosophy of the Egyptians" and are memorized in oral teaching by the priesthood. The last six books treat of medicine and are learned by the lower grade of pastophoroi.³ The first group of literature is concerned with topics which could well come under the Hermetic categories genikoi and ἐξῆρκαι λόγοι mentioned in our text.

Hermes Trismegistus is associated with theurgical techniques both in the Greek magic papyri and in the tradition of Iamblichus. The "Great Paris Magic Papyrus," published by Parthay and later included in Preisendanz's collection as P.G.M. IV, invokes Hermes for a sunrise autopsia or vision and identifies him with Agathos Daimon.⁴ Here, in Iamblichus⁵ and in the writing of the Emperor Julian,⁶ Hermes

¹ Cf. Nock-Festugière, volume IV, pp. 126f., et al.

² R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 33ff.

³ Stromateis, VI.iv. 35f.

⁴ P.G.M. IV. 475-732.

⁵ On the Mysteries, Prologue; C. F. Mead, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 286-7.

⁶ "Against the Galileans" in Julian the Apostate, ed. and Trans. W. C. Wright (Loeb Library Edition, Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 366-67.

appears as a dynamic and regenerative power, something like the Christian "holy spirit." There were many "Hermes," according to Clement of Alexandria¹ and the writing attributed to Manetho,² and Julian refers to the Third Hermes, as "having visited" (epiphoitēsantos) them³ in Egypt. Hermes was also a dynamistic daemon who led his devotees into ecstatic experience, as in the latter part of our tractate.

Cleopatra, Zosimus and other alchemists carried on the occult physical science of Hermes Trismegistus, which was appropriated into Sufi tradition with the Moslem invasions to re-emerge during the European Renaissance in the scientific and pharmacological writings of Paracelsus, Nostradamus and the Latin "Geber" school.⁴ Trismegistus was revered in Western occult traditions, and his theosophy permuted for various uses. He remains a figure of interest to scholars and occultists alike.

¹ Protr. II.24 in Clement of Alexandria, ed. & Trans. G. W. Butterworth (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 58-59.

² Pseudo-Manetho (Syncellus) in Manetho, ed. & Trans. W. G. Waddell (Loeb Library Edition, Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 208-209.

³ "Against the Galileans" in Julian the Apostate, ed. and Trans. W. C. Wright (Loeb Library Edition, Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 366-67.

⁴ E. J. Holmyard, Alchemy (New York, 1968), ch. 1-3.

Relations to Hellenistic Literature

By the 4th century, which is the ad quem for our tractate, there appears to be a great bulk of literature attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. The scribe of our tractate refers to the multitude of discourses by Hermes, far too numerous to copy and send to his employer. The fact that he chose to copy the present tractate and the Asclepius for inclusion would indicate that there might be something summary about the two, and the fact that our tractate, like C. H. XIII, is internally described (61-63) as a sacred document seems to indicate that it belongs either to an older tradition which has been exposed and made public (as Clement of Alexandria's writings indicate for the mysteries he describes), or to a sort of "reading mystery" tradition such as G. Van Moorsel maintains in The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus.¹

Festugière² concludes that the Hermetic literature presents too varied and versatile an appearance throughout Hellenistic literature to be the production of one cult or sect. Rather it reflects the general mode of Hellenistic science, a syncretistic unity in diversity. Putting forth the view that Van Moorsel was later to develop, Festugière takes issue with Reitzenstein's idea of a Hermetic fraternity or cult, pointing out that the literature preserves only allegorical treatments of sacramental acts such as baptism, confession, communion, singing and prayer, without actually specifying ritual and polity. The

¹(Utrecht, 1955)--hereafter cited The Mysteries. See my page 200.

²La Révélation, pp. 82f.

Hermetic corpus, in fact, often radically denies sacramentalism,¹ eschewing all for pure noetic worship. Festugière allows, however, the possibility of a Hermetic "Bible," or the production of inspired discourses generally held to be of great antiquity in the Hellenistic world, and associated with some sort of school tradition. More than this, however, cannot be determined.

The newer opinions of Festugière, C. H. Dodd, Van Moorsel and many others that Hermetism as reflected in the Greek and Latin corpus revolved around a quietistic school tradition or even a "reading mystery" have come to be generally accepted. The older opinions of Reitzenstein in Poimandres² (which traces hermetic origins to Egyptian religion), or Reitzenstein with Schader³ (which looks for Hermetic origins in Iranian religion), have proven to be unacceptable to modern scholars.⁴ Yet the fantastic theories of the theosophist Mead⁵ and others, who manipulate a great deal of evidence to demonstrate a connection between the Greek and Latin Hermetic material and the Egyptian priesthood, sometimes has appeal. Clement of Alexandria's description of the temple procession makes it clear that Hermetism was associated as a literary tradition

¹ Van Moorsel in The Mysteries writes excellent chapters on what he designates as the "negative" or anti-sacramental and "positive" or noetic aspects of Hermetic spiritualism, pp. 34-76.

² R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904)

³ Reitzenstein-Schader, Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland, (Berlin, 1926)

⁴ Such works as Kroll, Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistus, Münster, 1914; A.-J. Festugière, L'Hermetisme (Lund, 1948); Van Moorsel, op. cit.

⁵ G. R. S. Mead, Thrice Greatest Hermes (London, 1906).

with Egyptian priesthood.¹ The recent discovery of this Coptic Hermetic tractate with priestly directions for the writing and storage of the manuscript raises the issue: What is the relation of Egyptian cult to the production of Hermetic literature?

Our examination of the relations of Tractate 6, Codex VI, to Hellenistic literary traditions will first explore the parallels to the Greek and Latin Hermetic corpus and fragments, with special emphasis on C. H. XIII, then outline the differences between our tractate and the similar C. H. XIII. This will serve to point out the vast differences between the type of Hermetism reflected in the Greek corpus, and the sort found in this Coptic tradition.

Further parallels to the New Testament and early Christian literature will be defined, and finally to other Hellenistic writers and monuments. These parallels and anti-parallels will help clarify the literary-traditional elements of our tractate in preparation for a formal and redactional analysis.

¹Stromateis, VI.iv.

Parallels to the Greek and Latin Hermetic Literature

In Tractate 6 the Godhead is pictured as the divine archē or well-spring (52.19; 55.22; 58.13), giving all things and having no lack or need of receiving. This divine Source is named often in the Corpus Hermeticum (C. H. IV.10; X.14; XI.3 et al.), and implies that existence is a "fulness" of aeons, and perfection has no "lack" or space. The conception in C. H. II of plenum and motion, and indeed the entire cosmology of C. H. III, belongs to the same philosophical tradition as our tractate, with the difference that Tractate 6 emphasizes the dynamistic, spiritualistic and creative action of the generating Father of the All. He is described as a well-spring "bubbling over with life (or, revelation)."

The conception of Nous (58.5,15,21,27,28; 60.27,30; 61.31) seems more allied to that of C. H. I, Poimandres, in which Nous is hypostatized both as the first manifestation of the Authentic God (C. H. I.2, 6,9 et al.) and as the human organ of divine intellect (C. H. I.6,7). Nous does not appear in our tractate with the more general sense of "understanding," as it does often in the Corpus Hermeticum--C. H. IV, the Monad (or, Krater), for example. Nous as a lyre or plectrum for ecstatic inspiration (60.30) is somewhat paralleled in C. H. IX, the discourse on the senses (cf. IX.6f.), and in C. H. XV and XVII. There seems to be an association of Nous with inner vision. Nous functions in concert with a sort of spiritual sensory organ which is described as the "eye of the Nous" in C. H. V.2, XIII.14,17. In ecstatic reve-

lation it "sees itself" (cf. 58.5; 60.32f.: "I see myself!") as in C. H. XI.27, XIII.13, "I see myself!" It is able to see the "All" (58.4), as a cosmic experience preceding the self-revelation (cf. C. H. XIII.11, "I am everywhere!").

The concept of a road or "path" to apotheosis (63.11) is broadly parallel to the anodos or "upward path" of C. H. I and XIII, as well as XI.19. The Hermetic doctrine is referred to as a "path" by Iamblichus.¹ In Iamblichus, as in Tractate 6, the "path" seems to refer to the whole Hermetic discipline. In C. H. I and XIII, however, the "upward path" seems to refer specifically to the mystery liturgy of initiation itself. This term is not present in Tractate 6, and the Coptic mystery liturgy is seen as one of the higher degrees or stations along the path to apotheosis. It is the transition from the "Seventh" to the "Eighth" (which reveals the "Ninth"), as is clear in 56.28-29.

Tractate 6 uses the word aiōn (56.7; 59.6,7), and there is a hint of the aeon-lore so evident in C. H. XI.2f. However, the description of God as the Aeon of Aeons falls contrary to the more cosmological order expressed in C. H. XI, where aiōn is a single power, the first hypostasis of God before Cosmos.

56.12f. refers to God's eikōn as "governed." The governors are the seven planetary rulers, which make a Hebdomad. The Corpus Hermeticum consistently refers to the Cosmos as the eikōn tou Theou (cf. C. H. III.11; V.2,3; VIII.2; IX.8; X.10; XII.14,15; Asclepius X.3). Thus the imago Dei is the Son of God itself, the Cosmos, just as Man is the

¹On the Mysteries, viii.5.

imago mundi, the microcosm. The Cosmos or eikōn is governed by Heimermene as it turns, setting all things into motion (cf. C. H. I.8-11), the "becoming" and begetting of all species (cf. 57.11-19). The morphe of the Cosmos (57.6) is flawless (cf. Asclepius VII.2, the "form of the divine similitude") for, as in Plato's Timaeus, it exists in perfect entropy.

The hymning of God (55.24f.; 58.28f.) is paralleled in the Corpus Hermeticum (C. H. V.11; XIII.17f., 21), both as invocation and prayer (cf. C. H. I.31-32; cf. Nag Hammadi Tractate 7, Codex VI--the appended prayer). The attributes of God in Tractate 6, such as Father of the All, Self-Begotten, Creator, Aeon are common in the Corpus Hermeticum. The figure of the Nous, Hermes Trismegistus (59.15,24), is familiar. The Sophia (56.23; 57.25; 62.33) and Pronoia (54.15; 59.5) of God are mentioned as hypostaseis (cf. XI.3,5 et al.).

The necessity of silence (56.13; 58.20; et al.) recurs throughout the Hermetica (cf. C. H. I.16,30; X.6; XI.22; et al.) and the goal of the visio beatifica, the contemplation of the Ogdoad, is mentioned (C. H. I.26; X.5,6; XI.6; XII.12; XIII.15). The vision is in silence, joining the "powers" in silent praise. This goal is anticipated in C. H. X.5, where Hermes reminds Tat that he is not yet "attuned" or "strung" to receive the vision, nor does he have the power in the eye of his Nous to see the vision (cf. 60.29f.).

The "energy" of God, described in Tractate 6 as that which is transmitted to the son to create a "power" in him (52.16), and in which the "brothers" or pneumatikoi subsist (53.18f.), is described as divine Will

(C. H. X.1f.) which, like the rays of the sun (C. H. XV.12.7), activate and stimulate growth. C. H. XIV.4 specifies that "energy" is naturally within all things, acting upon them, while "power" exists apart from them. The divine "powers" purify the son in XIII, and involve the son of Tractate 6 in a divine regeneration as a step in apotheosis (52.24f.). It is through the "powers" that God is praised (XIII.16f.). The spiritual "brothers" of Tractate 6 are "those who are present" in the Ogdoad (C. H. I.26; cf. X.21). They perform logikai thusiai (57.18) through Spirit to God (cf. C. H. XIII.21; cf. I.31 et al.).

Parallels and Differences with C. H. XIII

The most evident parallel between Tractate 6 and the Hermetic corpus is the structural comparison with C. H. XIII, which I reserve for the next section. Within that structure, however, there are parallels and differences of content, which I enumerate here.

Both begin with the disciple, who is called a "son," reminding the teacher Hermes, who is called "Father," of an earlier promise to lead him into a sublime experience. In C. H. XIII, however, the discourse is to be on "rebirth," while in Tractate 6 it is to bring his "consciousness" into the Eighth and afterwards into the Ninth. Yet the discourse in Tractate 6 moves immediately into a discussion concerning the mode of the begetting of a "power" within the son, and at 52.26-27 Hermes says, "I gave birth to her (the "power"), even as children are born." At 53.2 Hermes describes the birth and naming of other pneumatics through him, clarifying to the son that he, the son himself, now has a new "power" born within. The metaphor is extended through 54.9f., where the son is likened "to those in childhood," for asking a foolish question, and then told that when he maintains the noetic process, "understanding," he will discover the pneumatics as "brothers" praying with him, in a sort of communio sanctorum (54.19f.). Thus it appears that the spiritual phenomenon of Tractate 6 is rebirth: The metaphor is consistently that of divine conception through the "Father" Hermes,² perhaps best summarized in the section 52.14-20: "When I (Hermes) received the spirit through the Power, I transmitted to you

the energy. The understanding is within you, but within me as though conceived is the power. For when I conceived from the well-spring which flowed to me, I gave birth."

Although both Tractate 6 and C. H. XIII are broadly concerned with a liturgy of rebirth, it is clear that they differ in concept and mode. The liturgy of C. H. XIII seems to be a total, self-contained "upward path," perhaps summarizing all the stages of Hermetic discipline in its progress through "Ten" and "Twelve" powers. Tractate 6 is seen as only one stage, the entry into the Eighth. It is only part of the Hermetic "path," while C. H. XIII is the "upward path" itself. The divine action in Tractate 6 is accomplished dynamistically through the mediation of the teacher, while in C. H. XIII the teacher is more of a hierophant or mystagogue, leading the student into self-awareness. Yet they both echo the same "mode": Tractate 6 (54.28-29) "Let the noësis come to you;" C. H. XIII.7, "Draw it to yourself, and it will come."

In both tractates the divine birth is followed by a vision of the Ogdoad and joining in a hymn of praise. Yet in C. H. XIII the "upward path" is a distinctive, liturgical and almost mechanical process of astral purification, accomplished by a revelation within the discourse as in C. H. I, while in Tractate 6 the ascent through the Hebdomad or seven astral spheres is hardly mentioned. It seems to be a much more ethical concept, quite dependent upon the son's previous behavior (56.27-32): "We have already begun the attainment to the Hebdomad, practising piety and being being free citizens in Thy Law. And Thy Will we perform at all times . . ." Nothing more is said of any sort

of "ascent" except the reference to the "path" at the end of the tractate (63.11).

Although both Hermes and the son offer their own hymn of praise in each tractate, the form is much different. In C. H. XIII Hermes begins his hymn (17-20) with an invocation of the "powers" in nature and an evocation of the "powers" within him. The son later (21) makes his first attempt to hymn the Father, which is corrected and made orthodox by Hermes ("But also append, my child, 'Through the Logos'"). The hymns are quite apart from the ascent, and are delivered only after the purification, which in C. H. XIII seems itself to be identified with the "rebirth."

In Tractate 6, however, the purification appears to occur through the invocation of Sophia (56.23) and the previous recognition of the "Powers" coming to them, such as Pronoia (54.15), Understanding (54.29), and the Spirit for the discourse (53.31). The Godhead is invoked (55.24) and made manifest in His divine Name (56.17-22, cf. the son's prayer 61.10-15), Sophia called upon, the Hebdomad mentioned and the hymn of praise from Hermes said, after which (57.26-32) Hermes declares, "Let us kiss one another, O my son, in truth. Rejoice over this, for already the power which is light is coming from them to us. For I clearly see depths unutterable." In C. H. XIII "light" is mentioned as the last of the Decad of cleansing "powers" (XIII.9).

The general theme of rebirth in the two tractates, then, has similarity. But the technique differs distinctly, and the theory behind the two techniques is quite different. In C. H. XIII there is what might

be called a technical dynamism, which depends upon a less ethical, more mechanistic kind of mysticism. In Tractate 6 we find what might best be described as a spiritualistic dynamism, which stresses more the ethical and community aspect of mysticism, and seems less specific about the cosmological significance of rebirth. In C. H. XIII there is a strict order to the discourse almost totally parallel to that of the Poimandres, which it mentions. Rebirth is accomplished finally through the discarding of the physical or zodiacal body and ascent through the Hebdomad, point by point. The son is then clothed in the dynamis-body or the "real" self (cf. XIII.3,14) as a sort of resurrection which must come to pass before he can attain to the vision of the Ogdoad. There is no mention of a Ninth, as in Tractate 6, which is to be revealed through the Eighth. In Tractate 6, however, the attainment through the Hebdomas to the Ogdoad is accomplished through the invocation of "spirit." The body is filled with "spirit" for the glossolalia-like experience, so that the effect is to emphasize ascent through epiklesis or spiritual infusion rather than purification. The theory behind this ascent is less "alchemical" and more spiritualistic. That is to say, it is more concerned with theurgical manipulation of spiritual entities than with the cosmological mechanics operative in a specified "ascent." The difference in theory would correspond somewhat to the difference between modern Theosophy (C. H. XIII) which trusts in scientific-spiritual "laws," and modern Spiritualism (Tractate 6) which depends upon the action of living, disembodied "spirits." Thus the two extant tractates represent two different tra-

ditions of rebirth within Hermetism, although it is possible that Tractate 6, with its aeon-lore and mention of further revelation beyond the Eighth to the Ninth, is simply a later development of the tradition in C. H. XIII.

The experience of rebirth itself differs in the two tractates. In C. H. XIII Tat enters into a frenzy and becomes quite distraught before suddenly gaining the enlightenment, and Hermes speaks in conscious paradox in order to achieve the change of consciousness necessary for Tat to burst from the psychic or zodiacal into the pneumatic. The process is like that of a Zen master and his student.

In Tractate 6, however, even though Hermes from time to time rebukes the son and recalls him into the all-important silence (as in C. H. I, X, XIII et al.), the experience is not paradoxical and abrupt. The son does not fall into a frenzy. Indeed, his "preparation" for the experience apparently extends from previous experiences (cf. 56.27f.), and he is able to deliver a hymn which is long and adequate, without need of correction (as in C. H. XIII). A further difference in the quality of experience is that after Hermes' praise he looks within the son to see if he has attained to the Eighth (59.27f.)—almost as though he were a "psychic reader" or, as modern Spiritualism would designate him, a "supersensitive." Possibly the "Father" of the Coptic tradition represents the role of a spiritual guru or master who was endowed with Pronoia, or what today is called extrasensory perception, and was thereby felt qualified to "look within" the student to determine whether he had attained to the Eighth.

Yet there are great similarities in the liturgies of Tat (C. H. XIII) and the son (Tractate 6). In both cases Hermes precedes them into the divine state and provides his discourse as the vehicle of apotheosis. What is more, the actual mystic experience is an ecstasy wherein the student becomes an instrument (organon) of divine expression, imbued and possessed by holy spirit like an oracle or prophet. Although this "inspirational" element is more evident in Tractate 6, it is by virtue of the ecstasy that the student is able to render up acceptable praise through his "silent singing." He becomes attuned to divine harmonia, and participates in the true or "real" worship, which is spiritual. This worship cannot be heard with the physical ears nor seen with the eyes, but apprehended only through the Nous in concert with the spiritual instrument of higher intellect. This human Nous is an aspect of the Nous of the Authentia (C. H. I.1; 6), and is identified with Hermes Trismegistus (or the "Third Hermes" of Julian). The great revelation of the inner "eye" of Nous is expressed in the joyous experience of both Tat and the son: "I see myself!"

Both tractates have special reference to the importance of their being written down (cf. C. H. XIII.13; Tractate 6.62.19,20). But while in Tractate 6 it is apparent that the student does the actual writing, in the Greek tractate there seems to be an implication that Hermes himself does the writing (cf. XIII.13, Hermes speaking, "... this discourse on rebirth for which I have written these hypomnēmata...").¹

¹This is quite open to debate, since hypomnēmatizōmai may refer to a mental or verbal process, although often to a written process, especially of a book in a series of philosophical treatises, (cf. L. S. J., p. 1889b.).

Again, both tractates are "secret" discourses with admonitions to privacy and implications concerning the existence of some sort of inner fellowship (cf. XIII.13,22; Tractate 6.53,63), yet the precautions taken differ greatly. The Greek tractate simply mentions the need for secrecy, while the Coptic includes elaborate directives for the writing (or re-writing), storage and protection of the manuscript, adding even a formal admonition of blessing and cursing with a final comment on its fatalistic efficacy (63.3lf.).

Clearly, then, although a literary similarity exists between C. H. XIII and our Tractate 6 (cf. pp. 181-82) there are significant differences to be noted in both the philosophical traditions and experiential phenomena represented by the two. They are both concerned with rebirth and the vision of the Ogdoad, but the techniques, theories and life-settings involved may be quite different. In as much as a comparison of Tractate 6 with the C. H. XIII aids in understanding the Coptic tract, it is useful to explore the relationship. But the meaning of Tractate 6 must be approached from other directions as well, since it is demonstrably somewhat independent of C. H. XIII and, after all, was discovered not in a Hermetic but a Gnostic library with many Gnostic-Christian documents. This seems to imply that the Hermetic tradition represented in the Coptic tractate overlapped some of the Gnostic traditions of the Nag Hammadi library, and was thus of interest to the collector or collectors of the library. It is wise, therefore, to continue by searching out parallels to Tractate 6 from Hellenistic traditions other than those of the Greek and Latin Hermetic literature.

Parallels to Other Hellenistic Literature

Many points of reference in Tractate 6 are brought into better focus by a comparison with non-Hermetic Hellenistic literature, most specifically the New Testament and early Christian writers, Gnostic writings, aspects of Plutarch's Moralia, and various papyri. I shall elaborate upon some of the more important parallels in the next section concerning the paradosis of Tractate 6.

The concept of "eight" as an initiatory number may relate to the Pythagorean concept of the cosmic harmony and the mysticism of harmonics on a musical stringed instrument. The first "octave" is achieved by dividing the string in half, perhaps symbolizing the division of earthly from heavenly. Here the eighth or octave perhaps came to be seen as symbolic of the "eighth heaven" or firmament which separated the cosmos from the divine.

The eighth day and the number eight had mystic significance in Jewish apocalyptic and wisdom literature of the intertestamental period.¹

¹Bauer (p. 555) lists ogdoos in Ep. Arist., Philo, Test. 12 Patr., and many others. The first chapter of the Test. Reuben speaks of the good and evil spirits of man. Perhaps as a sort of astrological development of the "two ways" doctrine and the good and evil yetzerim anthropology, here the good and evil spirits in man are subdivided into seven types, with each type perhaps corresponding to the characteristics of the planetary spheres. To these seven (and they are referred to as "seven") is added an "eighth," which in the mode of the good spirit is seen as a spirit of sleep (cf. Tractate 6.58.7, the "holy sleep"). This "sleep" is the ekstasis of nature and eikon of death--perhaps referring to mystic vision and revelation. In the evil mode, it is error and fantasy. If this "eighth" spirit in its good mode, then, is the faculty of divine vision, this may illuminate the word "sleep" (6.58.7) and the possible translation, "Return unto death, O my son, and speak while silent (6.59.20)." Here, "sleep" and the "image of death" would be seen as high mystic states of consciousness.

In Jewish tradition this was perhaps rooted in the allegorical interpretation of circumcision or initiation on the eighth day after birth (Gen. 21.4; cf. Lk. 1.59, Acts 7.8) and a mystic numerology related to the apocalyptic.¹ The resurrection of the Christ occurred on the eighth day, or the transcendent first day of a new creation.² Ireneus (Adv. haeres. I.15,2) recounts the Valentinian Marcus' gematria for Jesus' name, 888, which secretly was the name of Ogdoad.

In astral cosmology the eighth heaven was that of the starry firmament, the abode of the psychai (Plato's Timaeus;³ cf. Hermetic Asclepius,⁴ Kore Kosmou,⁵ Stobaeus Ed. 1.5.14 et al.), the sphere of the perpetual heavenly worship (cf. Secrets of Enoch, XXI.7f.; Merkabah or

¹ II Pet. 2.5 speaks of Noah as the "Eighth" person saved upon the dissolution of the "old world." The eighth beast (Rev. 17.11) is the final and supreme ruler of the earth. Eight seems to represent both completion and initiation.

² Epistle of Barnabas, XV.8-9. Significantly, the redactor of Luke 9.28 changes his Marcan source in the account of the Transfiguration ascent (Mark 9.2-8). In Mark, it is after six days that Jesus takes his chosen disciples up the mountain to witness the Transfiguration (i.e., the seventh day). This Jewish numeration is changed from what may have been a basis in Sabbath mysticism to one of astral gnosis, in which the Lucan redactor refers to eight days. It is also according to Luke (8.2) that Jesus had cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalene (astral rulers of Heimarmene?). Such symbolism would have been easy to apply to the Pauline idea of old and new dispensations, the old symbolized by law (the rule of the seven), and the new by grace (redemption from the "powers and principalities," and in Marcionite and other Gnostic thought from the "jealous" God of the Jews). Certainly the Eighth Day mysticism of sub-apostolic writers expresses the same feeling of "higher spirituality" or what might be termed "epitheology" so dear to Hermetics and Gnostics.

³ Sect. 41ff.

⁴ Cf. Fifth section, or para. 19, Nock-Festugière.

⁵ Fragment XXIII, 14ff., Nock Festugière.

throne worship of Jewish God, cf. Is. 6.1f., Ezek. 1.26-28; in Christian apocalyptic cf. Rev. 4.2f.).¹ The "throne" of God extended from the ninth to the tenth heaven, where His face was, and cherubim and seraphim worshipped Him constantly (Secrets of Enoch XX-XXII). In Jewish-Christian apocalyptic the world was created in seven stages or "days," and the eighth was a coming "day" or aeon, which was associated with anastasis or anapausis (cf. Secrets of Enoch XXXIII.1), the New Jerusalem, new creation, or Kingdom of God on earth.

In Gnostic cosmology the Ogdoas was the place of repose or anapausis, both after death and in "realized" mystic ecstasy (cf. Hippolytus Ref., 7.27f.).² It was the goal of the anodos or "upward path" of spiritual ascent (cf. the psychē in Gospel of Mary, Christ's ascension in Pistis Sophia), and became personified as deity in Greek magic tradition (P. Mag. Leid. W. 17.5).

Thus the Hermetic Ogdoas had many traditional sources, and the Eighth of our tractate belongs without doubt to Hermetic-Gnostic tradition.

Yet the concept of the "brothers" who continually sing praises to God in the Ogdoas, subsisting in energeiai and "augmenting other psychai (53.17.20)," is not explicit in the Greek or Latin Hermetic literature. For elucidation we must turn to Plutarch's descriptions of heavenly daimons, especially in the essay concerning the daimon of Socrates. Here in Timarchus' heavenly vision he sees two classes of

¹ Enoch alone mentions the Ogdoas by name.

² Bauer, p. 555.

disembodied spirits: earthly men who have died, but whose souls sink back into incarnation because of their imperfection, and heavenly men who exist as bright stars in the firmament. These perfected psychai are said to be men who "possess Nous:" Οἱ δὲ ἄνω διαφερόμενοι δαίμονες εἶσι τῶν νοῦν ἔχειν λεγόμενον ἀνθρώπων (Plutarch Moralia 7.591F). Later (593C,D) it is said that the gods themselves give special assistance to very few men, but that the daemons (593E,F) call out encouragement and run alongside those in the agon of life-- here the occurrence of two para- compound verbs calls to mind the parēdros, "familiar" or genius of the Greek magic papyri (IV), who is evoked through theurgical technique (I.177-80 et al.; cf. IV.2967f., II.2979f.) and often "plant magic" and manipulation of solar systems.¹ Porphyry (Regr., 29*.3)² advises that friendly daemons assist the disembodied soul to ascend after death through the astral spheres to the abode of blessedness: et admoneat utendum alicuius daemonis amicitia, quō subvectante vel paululum a terra possit elevari quisque post mortem. In Chaldean tradition³ the "teacher of the sacrifice" is the daemon from whom the magician or adept claimed to receive his knowledge. The Agathos Daimon figure is related to Hermes Trismegistus

¹Hans Lewy's Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy (Le Caire, 1956), pp. 230f., associates a section from Psellus with theurgical evocation of the personal paredros through the "seizing sacrifice," quickly pulling up plants for the energeia.

²Ibid., quoted p. 236, n. 36.

³Lewy, *ibid.*, pp. 230f.

in the Hermetica and the Greek magic papyri, and in Tractate 6 the "brothers" are children fathered spiritually by Hermes. Thus Hermes may have been regarded in Tractate 6 as a disembodied spirit which took over the Hermetic "Father" in a state of trance.

In Jewish-Christian tradition there were highly-developed angelologies and daemonologies, with the ideas of "guardian angels" and the invisible powers of God.¹ Baptism was done for the dead in Paul's received tradition, who were sleeping until the anastasis (I Cor. 15.29). However, the dead in Christ seem later to have been regarded as somehow partaking in blessedness as a sort of anapausis of spirit, able to participate in worship and communion, as the communio sanctorum clause in the Apostles' Creed indicates.² Finally, great saints were regarded as having attained to perfection after death, and were thus able to assist mortals in the agōn of Christian life through active intercession, intervention and miracle.³ The cult of Christian saints, both in the early canons of prayer and through reliquaries, holy places and shrines, took on the characteristics of ancient hero-worship and was perpetuated through medieval culture.

As the history of the saint cult in early Christianity indicates, such a tradition implies several generations of piety, a concern for

¹Bauer (p. 78) regards the "invisible things" of Rom. 1.20, equated with God's dynamis, to be divine powers.

²According to J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (N. Y., 1964), p. 389, the earliest incursion of the saint cults into credal material appears at the Gallican Synod of Nîmes in A.D. 394.

³As in the Bohairic Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George of Cappadocia, ed. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1888).

the estate of the blessed dead, a development of the concept of "sainthood" beyond simple initiation or salvation, and a somewhat stable community of believers. This sort of tradition appears to underly the consciousness of spiritual communion in Tractate 6, as opposed to the Greek and Latin Hermetic literature.

In Tractate 6 the "brothers" have a lower estate than the father, who is called at one point Hermes and at another Trismegistus. The father returns to the Ninth after leading the son up to the Eighth (52.5-6). As opposed to the Greek *Hermetica*, the father here is only called Hermes at the height of his vision. He is also called the Nous. It seems, then, that the titles might define a state of ecstasy rather than a particular teacher, in this tradition. The newly begotten pneumatic becomes a "brother" dwelling (in reality) in the Eighth, while the teacher dwells or "rests" in the estate of the Ninth as an aeonic power of God in the pleroma. The "brothers," then, seem to be constituted of those Hermetic saints, living in or out of the body (i.e., incarnate or not), who have broken the bonds of *Heimarmene* and become pneumatics or immortals. The son of this discourse becomes joined to their "generation," or to their eternal "book" of the living (the pun on djome is mystical), and partakes in this communio sanctorum with his peers in heaven and earth. But as a pneumatic he is still not a teacher, or a Hermes. There is yet a higher spiritual goal--the Ninth.

It seems, then, that the "brothers" of Tractate 6 would indicate a later development of Hermetic tradition than is found, for example, in C. H. I or XIII. The importance of the disembodied pneumatics to

the vision of the Ogdoad may indicate something of a community tradition within the Coptic Hermetism of our tractate. Surely the existence of a temple in Diospolis (61.19) supports this view.

The concept of the "promise" (EPHT; 52.2) may have some parallel in Christian tradition. In Hellenistic literature the epangelma could refer to many sorts of announcement, but in the early Christian literature it referred specifically to the blessedness which God granted (II Pet. 3.13; cf. Ael. Aristid. 52 p. 599D; cf. Philo, Mut. Nom. 128).¹ The Christian epangelia was a divine promise to men (Acts 3.29; Rom. 4.13f., 16 et al.), which is sometimes regarded as fulfilled by the parousia of holy spirit (Acts 2.33; Gal. 3.14; I Jn. 2.25), the coming of Christ (Acts 13.32 et al.), earthly blessedness (Eph. 6.2) and aeonic blessedness (Heb. 9.15 et al.).²

In Tractate 6 the "promise" (EPHT) seems to be identical with the epangelia of silence (sigē) mentioned in the title of C. H. XIII. Here, as in C. H. I.30, the Hermetic meditative sigē is a return to the original One. In Simonian, Valentinian and other Gnostic pleromas, the One is frequently identified in His first state of emanation as Sigē of Primordial Silence, part of the androgynous Dyad from which the pleroma of aeons is generated. Thus the Hermetic "promise" may be connected with a concept of initiation into a pleroma of aeons by the technique of profound religious meditation.³

¹Bauer, p. 280.

²Ibid.

³L. S. J. (p. 1596) indicates a "mystical or religious sense" of the word, as opposed to the siope of Hermetic literature, which simply indicates cessation of noise (p. 1603).

There may also be some comparison to Pauline, Lucan and Johannine "baptism in spirit." It may differ on the same point for which Paul's Corinthian opponents were chastized, however (I Cor. 2.1f., 4.8 et al.), since the "promise" may be "realized" resurrection. That is, initiation may have been considered to produce the divine or "resurrection" state, so that the Hermetic devotee had already "died" and would not suffer death and reincarnation at the dissolution of his physical body. Rather, his spirit would ascend unhindered into the realm of the Eighth heaven, where it would join the "brothers" in perpetual singing to the Father of the Universe, returning at times to assist mortals in their spiritual agon.

On the other hand, in the Acta Pauli it is noteworthy that when Paul first meets Thecla he is confronted and accused by Demas and Hermogenes (literally, "Hermes-born") of blasphemy for his teaching of anastasis as an eschatological event.¹ According to them, the anastasis exists in human life as nature, and is physically represented by the birth of children. Demas and Hermogenes may well have been Hermetic initiates, as not only the name Hermogenes implies, but the doctrine itself, which is strongly stated at the end of C. H. II. This may differ greatly from the Hermetic tradition of Tractate 6, yet agrees in the concept of "realized" resurrection.

It is stated, however, that the "promise" which was made in human terms, is fulfilled only by degrees (52.12-13) and through spiritual effort. In C. H. XIII.1 it is prescribed that Tat should be "ready to become an alien to the cosmos." The same sort of condition is stated

¹Cf. Coptic edition of C. Schmidt (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 6*-12*.

in Gnostic literature such as the Epistle to Rheginus,¹ as well as Christian literature. It is an ethical-mystical concept, involving the idea of spiritual life as an agon against powers and principalities of impurity (the astral "executioners" of C. H. XIII, cf. C. H. I.22-23), and is expressed both in Tractate 6 (56.29) and in the Epistle to Diogenes (5.9) with the verb politeuesthai, in Paul (Phil. 3.20) with the noun politeuma--having citizenship in the oecumenical Kingdom of God through participation in divine "piety" (56.28) and "law." This appears to be the meaning of "attainment to the Hebdomas" in our tractate (56.27-28). As in Pauline doctrine, purification is through progressive sanctification, which is then liturgically recognized in the ascent to the Ogdoas.

The noetic process of spiritual "understanding" emerges in Pauline language (Rom. 1.20f.) as an inner vision or sight. Men are "known" by God (Gal. 4.9), who looks upon the "heart" (cf. John 12.40).

Nous in man is highly valued in early Christianity (cf. Rev. 13.18). It is something which is "had" by some men (cf. Barnabus 6.8) and placed in them by God for the understanding of mysteries. It is something which can be "opened up" (cf. Lk. 24.45), and men can be transformed by the "renewing" of their Nous (cf. Rom. 12.2; Eph. 4.23) through the reception of spirit. Human Nous is a receptor and channel of divine spirit, and thus the medium of revelation and prophecy. Never in early Christian literature, however, is Nous

¹ De Resurrectione, ed. M. Malinine et al. (Zürich, 1963), F.XXIV, p. 47, lines 19f.

personified beyond what may be an hypostasis of the Christ-figure (cf. I Cor. 2.16a;b) except in the Christian Sibylline Oracles (8.284) and Diognetus (9.6). In the latter, Christ is the *Mous* of God.¹

The portrayal of spirit as water from a divine *pēgē* or "well-spring" (52.19; 55.22; 58.13; cf. MOOY "water" 59.8; 63.18) has a parallel in the Johannine "rebirth" of the discourse with Nicodemus, and in the proclamation of Christ as a *pēgē* of aeonic life (John 4.14; cf. 7.37-38; also cf. Rev. 21-6; 22.1, and the Jewish image in Num. 20.2-13; Is. 44.3; 55.1).

The Hermetic *pēgē* is a figure for the divine One, the Father of the All. Dwelling in Himself while creating (cf. 56.7-8; 57.11f.; 58.10-14), He makes available His spiritual "rebirth" through the inspired Hermetic teacher or "father." The well-spring which flows to him brings about the spiritual germination and rebirth experienced by the student. This spiritual dynamism is somewhat different than the process in C. H. XIII, as I have previously mentioned, and may be parallel to the pneumatic baptism associated with Pauline and Johannine Christianity, and later with the Montanist revival. This may be the meaning of the "ambrosial water" of C. H. I and the recently discovered Hermetic letters.²

¹Cf. Bauer, pp. 546-57.

²Papyri From Hermopolis and Other Documents From the Byzantine Period, ed. B. R. Reese (London, 1964)--#42 in the Greco-Roman Memoires of the Egypt Exploration Society. See pp. 2-5, the letter from Anatolius to Sarapion, especially 11.10-12, "the inexorable (*aparaiteton*) water of the cult of the god Hermes who protects." This, however, may simply refer to the protection of Hermes as god of travel. Yet the next letter of Anatolius makes mention of Hermes Trismegistus (p. 6, 11.22f.).

Underlying the theme of pneumatic regeneration is the motif of the hieros gamos. When the Father of Tractate 6 has finished his invitational prayer, he says, "Let us kiss (aspazein) one another, O my son, in truth (57.26-28)." This is more explicitly dynamistic than the Christian "kiss of peace," and may be directly parallel to the sacrament of the Bridechamber (nymphōn) in the Gospel of Philip, where it is said (107.1-6), "The Perfect (teleios) conceive through a kiss and give birth. For this reason we also kiss each other. We receive conception from the grace (charis) which is among us." The context of the first part of this logion 31 in Philip, though mutilated, refers to the logos coming forth out of God's mouth. Thus in Philip, the pneumatic is begotten spiritually, not created, just as God's Word, His Son, the Christian Logos, was begotten. Perhaps in Tractate 6 the kiss is a mutual inspiring or "in-breathing."

The form of Marcosian initiation reported by Ireneus in his treatise against heresies involved Marcus' sharing of charis with a disciple by means of pneumatic impregnation (Adv. haeres. I.13,3; 21,3-5). Some Christian and Gnostic sects were considered to be licentious, and Epiphanius claimed in his work against heresies to have had sexual initiation proposed to him by female Gnostics. He also claimed that the Phibionite Gnostics practiced ritual intercourse with coitus interruptus (since propagation of children was considered to be a theological con-

The letters are roughly contemporary with the transcription of our tractate. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the "cult of Hermes" is simply a city or synodos (guild) fraternity, or a more elite secret organization.

tinuation of the Fall of Man), that they offered the seminal fluid as a sacrifice to heaven, as well as menstrual blood (which they ate and called "the blood of Christ"), and that if any child was accidentally conceived it was aborted by hand, pounded with spices and ritually eaten as a "perfect Passover" (Pan. 26.4-5).

The limits of Gnostic antinomianism are not known.¹ They are probably greatly exaggerated. However, it is clear that in Tractate 6 the motif of hieros gamos is only incidental to the great theme of rebirth in spirit. The Hermetic father was the perfect and obedient instrument, the "medium," of pneumatic conception from the seminal well-spring of the one, ineffable God of All.

In the translation notes 17 and 18 I have demonstrated some of the Hermetic parallels to pronoia, but it is to be further noted that the concept was used both as noetic process (cf. Acts 24.2) and as a divine hypostasis (cf. Plutarch 5.420B). Eusebius witnesses that Philo wrote a work (H. E. 2.18.6) entitled Peri Pronoias,² and the term appears in most Gnostic aeonic schemes.

The Gnostic concept of pronoia is somewhat contemporary with the usage of Epictetus, who exhorted his hearers to discover the working of Zeus' divine plan in everything. His pronoia holds together all things in logical cause and effect. If one is able to take a compre-

¹ Cf. E. M. Yamauchi, Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins (Harvard Theological Studies XXIV), (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 25-28. See also S. Benko, "The Libertine Gnostic Sect of the Phibibites according to Epiphanius," Vig. Christ. 21 (1967), pp. 109-110—source for Yamauchi's quote, n. 124, p. 27.

² Bauer, p. 715.

hensive view of any event, with thanksgiving, one has become aware of divine pronoia, for, "God has brought man into the cosmos as a contemplator of Himself and His works, and not only a contemplator but an exegete."¹ In the case of Epictetus' Stoic pronoia, as in Tractate 6 the worshipper comes into the consciousness of God's perfect plan--the fitting together of past, present and future events--in a comprehensive, eucharistic visio beatifica. In this sense, then, the term clairvoyance or "clear vision" applies. The experience of receiving pronoia might be phenomenologically interpreted as the opening of a psychic faculty which allows the teacher and student to somehow telepathically "hear" the "silent hymning" of each other and those in the Ogdoad. Significantly, it is in another discourse on pronoia that Epictetus makes the following declaration: "If we had nous, what would we be engaged in, publically and privately, other than hymning and praising the Divinity, and speaking out His graces (charis)?"²

Now, however, (54.15), the student refers to pronoia which came down to him from the scrolls (past time) in its interaction with the prokopē or advancement which came to him "now" (present time). Noēma, which is the process associated with Nous, was stimulated³ in the student

¹Text from Epictetus, ed. W. A. Oldfather, Loeb Library Edition, (Harvard University Press, 1961), I.vi.19-20, p. 44.

²Ibid., I.xvi.15-16, p. 112

³Perhaps a similar operation is intended through the dynamic prayer of Ephesians 3.14-19, where the writer bows his knees before the Father, out of Whom all the family of heaven and earth are named, that He might grant us to be strengthened with "power" through His spirit in the "inner man," that Christ might dwell in our hearts, that we have "power" in love to comprehend (katalambanein, as in John's Prologue, 1.5) with all the holy ones (living and dead, I presume) the breadth, length, height and depth (bathos, cf. Tractate 6 at 57.31), and to know the love of Christ which surpasses gnosis, that we may be filled with plērōma of God.

at his initiation. His advancement through the scrolls or discourses (genikoi and exōtikoi [or exoterie] logoi, 63.2-3) has drawn him closer to the hypostatized pronoia of Hermes (cf. 59.5). Like Pauline charis, the Hermetic pronoia is a quality in which the catechumenate was to grow and progress, rather than to have all at once. It seems to have been associated with the ethical-mystic advancement through the Hebdomad, and may have some parallel in the Pauline idea of being changed from "glory to glory" (II. Cor. 3.18). Again, it may refer to some paranormal or clairvoyant faculty, evident in the ability of Hermetic teacher and student to both hear the hymn each other sings to God in silence.

As in some Jewish and Christian traditions, the mode of piety in our Tractate 6 is quietistic. The prayer "with all the mind, heart and soul" of 55.12-13 (cf. 57.21-23) echoes the Deuteronomic commandment (6.5) which took such precedence in early Christian theology (cf. Mtt. 22.37; Mk. 12.28f.; Lk. 10.25f.). The concept of the logikē thusia, the rational or verbal sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (cf. Phil. 2.17; 4.18; Heb. 13.15,16; I Pet. 2.5),¹ is instrumental to the piety of Tractate 6 (cf. 57.18-19). As Van Moorsel has shown in The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus, in most Hermetic traditions there was a radical disavowal of ritual and sacrament, with a corresponding emphasis upon the inner, spiritual worship of God. The vision of the Ogdoads was considered to be a dōrea (55.15) of grace, just as Paul

¹Of these, only I Pet. 2.5 could possibly be considered a parallel in concept.

considered God's "justification" to be a "free gift" (Rom. 3.24; 5.15; II Cor. 9.15 et al.). C. H. IV.5, the discourse on the krater, speaks of Nous or "higher intellect" as the dōrea of God.

The student of Tractate 6 declares (60.11f.) that he must offer up praise "since I am overflowing from my heart," and he sends forth "praise from my heart" imploring, among other things, for the "sower of the Logos" (60.23-24). This brings to mind the synoptic Parable of the Sower, which is explained in this way (Mk. 4.14): "The sower sows the Logos."

One other possible parallel to New Testament writings may exist in the "white stone" (galaktitēs) of 62.11. The word in Rev. 2.17 is leukos, and is echoed later in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, yet the concept seems alike. The "white stone" or "milk stone" appears in all three cases in connection with baptism, initiation and a rebirth or renaming (cf. the "christening" of 53.13). The one mention of a lithos galaktitēs in Liddell-Scott-Jones is from Dioscorides Medicus 5.132, of a kind of stone which turns water milky for medicinal purposes. Epiphanius' De Gemmis provides little more insight, and it seems best to assume that the medical-alchemical meaning of the stone was probably connected with purity and the mother's milk of babes, so that while no specific interpretation for the "white stone" can be given, this much may be speculated: While the "white psēphos (or pebble)" of Rev. 2.17 probably reflects the idea of "election" through the Greek political tradition of voting by casting the psēphos, yet it includes as well the idea of purity in whiteness. It is seen as a

secret reward and a goal, just as it appears in Tractate 6, and has to do with the spiritually new identity of a pneumatikos like the prophet John or the reborn "son" of our tractate. There may be, then, some connection between the milk-stone of Tractate 6 and the white pebble of Christian tradition.

There is a great danger in seeking for literary parallels, since the literature of this period is steeped in allegory and the figurative reinterpretation of ancient literature. The Gnostic interpretations of John's Gospel, such as those of Heracleon, demonstrate the subtlety of Hellenistic hermeneutical methods. If it could be presumed that Hermetism had close ties to early Christian literature, or to Jewish scripture, it would be possible to name other parallels of piety. For example, the embracing or kissing of the Father and son (57.26-28) might be seen parallel to the "holy kiss" of Pauline tradition, or even as a "midrash" on Psalm 85.10, "Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet; righteousness and peace will kiss each other." Perhaps it is sufficient to observe that the personal piety manifest in Tractate 6 has many elements which correspond to the pneumatic traditions of subapostolic and later monastic and contemplative Christianity. Whether these parallels indicate a common tradition or simply phenomena characteristic of most mystic traditions cannot be specified at this point.

There can be more certainty about parallels to the anodos, the visio beatifica, the hymning and ecstasy, and dynamic Name of God, the House of Life and the final directions given to the student,

however. Here I shall briefly sketch the parallels, so that the interpretation of them can be left for my section on the religious tradition of Tractate 6.

The "upward path" or return to the divine origin is almost archetypal in mystic religion and philosophy. Plato's Allegory of the Cave, Paul's vision of being "caught up" to the Third Heaven (II Cor. 12.2) or of the final ascension to God, being "caught up" in the air (I Thes. 4.17; cf. I Cor. 15.51f), the apocalyptic ascensions of Enoch, Ezra, Paul, Moses preserved in apocryphal literature, the resurrected and ascended Christ portrayed in both canonical and Gnostic literature (Pistis Sophia, Gospel of Mary et al.), the heavenly vision of Timarchus in Plutarch's essay on the daemon of Socrates—all these indicate a similarity in mystic aspiration and sometimes an overlapping of traditions.

In Tractate 6, as in other Hermetic literature, the experience is climaxed by communion in divine praise. This is of two kinds: the logikē thusia already discussed, a verbal praising of God in the form of prayer, and the hymn sung in silence, which is not recorded for us, yet which is integral to the literature. This hymning in silence is an apotheosis, a participation in the noetic harmonia of the universe. It is the ultimate worship "in spirit and in truth" (John 4.24). It is the experience of receiving and returning grace simultaneously (cf. Tractate 6.57.5-11; and the Coptic idiom "to take grace," 61.4, with note 47).

This ecstatic receptivity to spiritual inflow and outflow brings

forth the metaphor in 60.29-32, "I am the musical instrument (organon) of Thy Spirit, the Neus is Thy plectrum (plēktron), and Thy Will performs psaltery upon me" Epiphanius (Haer. xlviii.4) quotes this oracle from the Christian heretic Montanus: "Behold, man is as a lyre, and I hover over him as a plectrum." Tertullian (De exh. cast. 10) quotes from the Montanist Prisca that they saw visions and, bowing their heads (in prayer?), also heard distinct voices.¹ Plutarch, in the essay on Socrates' daimon (VII.588-590), compares the soul of man to a taut string which is stimulated by "understanding." He uses the comparison to a lyre, referring often to the soul as an organon.² Here Plutarch is expressing a popular Greek understanding of divine inspiration and the Muse.

It may be significant that the Muses were first considered to be spirits associated with springs of water (the pegē), and that the temple of Isis in Hermopolis was dedicated to her as "Leader of the Muses"³ and perhaps as the mythical daughter of Hermes (as in the Hermetic *Kore Kosmou*). At the time of Plutarch Isis religion and the figure of Thoth or Anubis had been accommodated to Greek mythology (and we know of Hermanubis through Plutarch). Again, Isis and Hermes were associated with the Muse at Hermopolis. This would provide a theological

¹ Trans. by R. M. Grant, Second-Century Christianity: a collection of Fragments, (London, 1957), p. 96.

² Cf. his essay on the oracles at Delphi, V.404B, "The soul is created to be the organon of God."

³ Plutarch, On Isis and Osiris, V.352A,B.

framework and liturgical life-setting miscible with the concepts of Tractate 6 and much of the Hermetic literature. This would speak for the origin of Hermetism in Hellenized Egypt. The possibility of our manuscript having been composed in native Coptic adds weight to the argument.

The controversy between Paul and the pneumatic Christians of Corinth is well known. Paul roundly condemns their glossolalia as irrational, and exhorts that it would be better to "speak five words with my Nous, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue" (I Cor. 14.19). This gift of spirit, to speak with the Nous, was to be desired above tongues, and was known as "prophecy" (I Cor. 14.1f.) An even higher gift was the power to dihermeneuein or "interpret." Paul finally makes the distinction (I Cor. 14.15) between singing (psallein, cf. Tractate 6.60.32) with the spirit, which is glōssolalia, and singing with the Nous, which is rational. Paul himself uses rational hymns (or odes? cf. Eph. 5.19, Col. 3.16 "pneumatic odes") which are part of his received tradition, often incorporating them into his epistles for instruction (I. Cor. 13.1-13 perhaps becoming an apt example of noetic hymnology for his errant Corinthians!).

The Father and student give forth this same sort of "rational sacrifice" in the mixed form of an invocation, prayer and hymn of praise (55.24f. and 58.28f.). In praising God reference is made to several terms which occur in Gnostic aeonology, and have parallels in Gnostic thought.

God is called the "Father of the All," a designation found in the

Bruce Codex, folio 138^R, line 2, as Eiōt nniptērf (a special locution used in the Coptic tractate, literally "Father of these universes"). The term appears throughout the versions of the Apocryphon of John, in Ireneus (Adv. Haer. Bk. I), Epiphanius (Haer. XXI) and Hippolytus (Ref. Haer. Bks. V, VI). In Greek the "all" is to holon. The "All" in the Greek Hermetic literature (cf. C. H. VIII.2) is to pan, to holon, a synonym for cosmos. Through God the "All" received psychē (57.12), which would indicate the Hermetic sense of All as cosmos receiving the Platonic world-soul.

It is through God as pēgē,¹ the agennētos or unbegotten One,² or the autogennetos (57.14; cf. 63.22), that the birth of all things is manifest.

Other Gnostic terms used by the Valentinians and the general group of manuscripts described above are found in our Hermetic hymn: plērōma, bathos, typos, eikōn, pronoia, hebdomas, ogdoas.³ In fact, a whole pleroma of aeons might be reconstructed from the aeonic terms of Tractate 6. The aeon-lore is unusual for Hermetic literature, and has its best parallel in C. H. XI.1f. This plus the fact that our tractate was preserved in a Gnostic library may indicate that it is best viewed

¹Cf. Bruce Codex f. 145^R et al.

²Cf. Bruce Codex f. 145^R; the divine name is Autogenēs, also in the Bruce Codex, the versions of the Apocryphon of John, the theology of Marcos (Epiph. Haer. xxxiv.5), and the Gnostics described by Hippolytus in Ref. Haer. vi.42.

³The Gospel of Truth, f. XI.36ff; speaks of believers being "joined" to the living scroll (XuluME), cf. Tractate 6.53.33. Nag Hammadi C. F. I.68.20ff. speaks of an ascent through the aeons to the Father.

as a Gnostic-Hermetic discourse. The question of what Hermetism was in the Hellenistic period will be discussed in the concluding chapter. Suffice it to say that Hermetism may have been much more Gnostic than the ~~extant~~ Greek Corpus Hermeticum indicates.

Another unusual element for Hermetic literature is the use of a dynamic, divine or secret, "powerful" name (56.17ff. and 61.10ff). Here the seven "powerful" Greek vowels are combined with a dynamic name of God. The form, although not perfectly copied by the scribe for pious reasons, is a Zauberbild or magic construction between the Alpha and the Omega (cf. Rev. 1.8). The vowels, which in magic tradition and Gnostic theology were seen as the hebdomad of astral rulers (cf. P. G. M. I.4,26-27; II.96-97; IV.1004-5 et al.) and arranged schematically in the same form as here, were spoken perhaps progressively from Alpha to Omega, each vowel ascending (it seems probable) in intonation as well as lengthening in rhythmic value, until the limit or end, Omega, was reached. This probably represented Chronos or Saturn, the seventh planet, and thus the praise may have been "elevated" through the Hebdomad to the Ogdoad. The form here is:

A	Ω
EE	OO
EEE	OOO
IIII	OOOO
OOOOO	OOOOO
YYYYYY	OOOOOO
OOOOOOO	OOOOOOO

The same form is used for an elaboration of the divine name Iaō in P. G. M. XIX.20f. The Coptic section in P. G. M. III.639f. speaks of "the Name . . . him I praise . . ." followed by the seven powerful

vowels in a form much like ours, but without the intervening Omegas. In P. G. M. IV.1003f. the vowels are used in a section where Hermes is identified with Agathos Daimon, and instructions are given for receiving an autopsis or vision in the sunrise. This may be a close parallel, considering that Hermetic worship was done toward the sun (C. H. I.29; XIII.16), although at sunset.

Franz Dornseiff's excellent study on the magical alphabet provides some insights into the practice.¹ According to work by Maspero cited by Dornseiff, Thoth was known as the master of "fehlerlose Intonation des Zauberspruchs."² Dornseiff speculates that the "downwardbearing stoicheia" of C. H. I.10 were primal alphetetical letters of the creative Logos or Word, as in Orphic cosmological poetry, and in the later Pistis Sophia.³ Possibly, then, magico-mystic use of alphabetical characters was developed in the Hermes-Thoth tradition.

Use of the seven "powerful" vowels in divine praise and hymning the gods was characteristic of Egyptian theurgical tradition.⁴ The vowels each represented one of the seven astral rulers (ousiarches, cf. 63.19), and the unarticulated praise of the theurgist was done out "of the body," just as the vowel without consonants represented disincarnate psyche.⁵ The praise of the worshipper may be phenomenologically related

¹Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie (Leipzig, 1922)

²*Ibid.*, p. 118

³*Ibid.*, p. 119

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 52

⁵*Ibid.*, quoting from Nichomachus of Gerasa

to the animal cries of shamans, as must have been the invocational wailing of Thessalonian witches, and other ecstatic glossolalia. For this reason I have speculated that the vowels were sung or canted, perhaps for extended periods of time (much longer than their brief appearance in a text might imply).

For the Name itself, Zozazōth (56.20), I can find no similar one in the magic papyri Greek, demotic or Coptic (but cf. P. G. M. XIII.51 Zōthaxathōzō, a palindrome like ablathanathalba; also Zozaz.oth. of VII, col. xvii). Yet the use of other singular magic names is found throughout, and appears even in such Gnostic literature as the beginning of the fourth book of the Pistis Sophia (where again the seven powerful vowels are used), and the powerful name Zamazamaōz Zarachamaōzai of the first book. Divine secret names of dynamis are also found in the Books of Ieu, which are associated with the tradition of the Pistis Sophia.¹

Perhaps the most curious term in our tractate is the "House of Life," mentioned at 61.20,20 and 62.15 as the repository for the scroll.

¹It is in the Second Book of Ieu, chapter 50.320, that the closest and perhaps the most significant parallel to the formula of Tractate 6 is found. Here "our Father, Thou Father of all Father-creation," is called upon in this way: iz za zoz ooooooo (ee)eeee ooooooo uuuuuuu iz zōz zōzōzōz etc. Here a divine name made of the same letters as that in Tractate 6 is used in combination with the vowels grouped in sevens.

I am indebted to my student Paul Stringer for the observation that the divine Name of Tractate 6 consists of the same letters as the Azōth mentioned by Zosimus the alchemist (whose writings are contemporary with the burial of the Nag Hammadi library). According to E. J. Holmyard (op. cit., p. 155) the name Azōth, which referred to what would later be called the Spirit of Mercury (i.e., Hermes), was considered to have great occult power because it contained the first and last letters of Greek, Roman, Arabic and Hebrew alphabets. The same letters are used to construct the divine Name of Tractate 6, in different order. Perhaps, then, this explains the power of the Name, and its association with vowels from alpha to omega, the beginning and the end.

I have shown in note 50 that the proper translation is "House of Life," and promised to elaborate. Yet most of the argument is to be found already carefully worked out in an article by the Egyptologist Alan H. Gardiner.¹ Gardiner traces the Egyptian term from its earliest sources in Middle Egyptian, where it refers to the library and training school of scribes, through the Coptic pransh (cf. my note to the translation #50). Gardiner refutes the idea that it could have been a school or university for academic purposes, and shows that, "it was rather a scriptorium where books connected with religion and cognate matters were compiled" (p. 175).

Gardiner goes on to say, "Great stress is laid on the productive aspect of the House of Life, and we have no doubt that this was the workshop where most sacred books and inscriptions were composed and written. It seems likely that the ever-increasing frequency with which the House of Life is mentioned as the Christian era approaches was due to the growing differentiation between religious and secular matters, and in particular between the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts on the one hand, and the demotic or epistolographic style on the other. Hieroglyphic writing is now termed 'writing of the House of Life' as opposed to 'writing of documents' (or 'letters', ^{VC}), and presumably hieratic was included in the former" (p. 176).

Gardiner says that assuming Griffith's translation of a certain section of demotic literature is correct, the House of Life "would thus

¹"The House of Life," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Volume 24 Part 2, for December, 1938, pp. 157-179.

be a sort of Somerset House, where births, if not also deaths and marriages, were recorded" (p. 175, #57). Gardiner doubts the correctness of Griffith's translation, yet the term in our tractate does refer to a place where a spiritual birth is to be recorded--that of the son.

"No doubt," says Gardiner, "the Books of the Dead, of which hundreds are found in our museums, were characteristic products of the House of Life" (p. 178). If this is so, there may be much closer literary connection between the Hermetic anodos and the "way to divine rest" or blessedness portrayed in the Books of the Dead. In the Egyptian tomb traditions "magical" formulae and dynamic names were handed down for the use of the dead to gain entrance through the guardposts of heaven. This could easily have been syncretized with astral-lore and Hermanubis Psychopompos (cf. Plutarch V.375E), to become the mystic ascent through the planetary spheres to the Ogdoads.

Apparently, then, our Coptic manuscript claims to be deposited in a scriptorium at Diospolis, and written in some form of hieroglyphics (perhaps hieratic) on a sapphire tablet. This is much more than other Hermetic tractates claim, although C. H. XVI, the so-called Definitions of Asclepius to King Ammon, states that it was originally written in Egyptian, the "true" language which alone has dynamic power for magic and revelation. It is confusing to find a new Hermetic tract possibly composed in a form of Egyptian, since scholars have generally presumed that the Hermetic pretensions to the Egyptian language were pure romantic fantasy! Yet, is Coptic really "Egyptian" in the romantic sense? Again the connection of Hermetism to Egyptian scribal and priestly mystic

traditions is implied.

The meaning of the astrological rubrics given at the end of the tractate has been explored in Note 65. The scroll is a birth record, and must be recorded in the House of Life. It is doubtful that anything was inscribed on steles or stone, and if the composer of Tractate VI were following literary mystery conventions of the period, perhaps even the name Diospolis is mythic and non-geographical.

The final initiation oath, however, is too explicit to simply be regarded as literary convention. Where C.H. XIII.22 simply exhorts secrecy to the reader and student, Tractate VI includes a powerful oath with blessings for the respectful and cursings for whomever misuses it. Much more than the sort of inscription found on tombs, this represents a specific sacred formula whose form is known from other sources.¹ It includes the solemn opening epiclesis and calling upon the cosmic witnesses (seven in number),² and promises blessings to those who "keep" the oath (usually Greek tērein), but a curse to those who transgress.³

It is the final oath, perhaps more than any other single evidence, that points to historical religious tradition, rather than mere literary imitation, underlying Tractate VI, not far removed from our extant document.

¹Cf. A. Henrichs, Die Phoinikika des Lollianos: Fragmente eines Neuen Griechischen Romans (Bonn, 1972), pp. 40-41 for text of oath used in the mysteries of Isis. The form: Epiclesis (omnuō = Coptic TAPKO) before cosmic witnesses (heaven, earth, etc.), before theological witnesses (tērein, cf. VI.63.23-25; phylaxein, cf. VI.62.5 with 63.30), with final blessing and curse. Cf. Gnostic and Jewish parallels, Henrichs, pp. 41f.

²Cf. seven witness of Elchasai, Hippol., Ref. 9.15.3, 4-16; cf. also P.G.M. V.459-486.

³Typical also of tomb inscriptions (cf. Antiochus of Commagene, 230; Abercius of Hierapolis, 20).

Form and Redaction in Tractate 6

Scholars such as J. Robinson and M. Krause agree that the material of Codex VI from 52.1-63.32 is separate from the prayer of 63.33-65.7, which appears almost identically by itself in the Greek papyrus Mimaut and at the end of the Latin Asclepius. Yet the scribe who made the transcription indicated by his note at the end of the prayer that he received the tractate and prayer together as a unit. Furthermore, the tractate is bound to the prayer in an obviously secondary and loose manner by means of a redactional narrative structure consisting of three sparsely placed narrative sentences. The first is at 52.26-27, "He said, 'I gave birth to her even as children are born.'" The second occurs at 59.23-24, "When he finished giving praise, he cried aloud, 'Father, Trismegistus, what shall I speak?'" The third narrative sentence, which is outside the tractate proper, introduced the prayer with these words: "This is the prayer which they spoke."

This secondary narrative structure seems to indicate the word of a Hermetic scribal librarian or collector, and is parallel to the process in C. H. I and the Latin Asclepius which appends a traditional prayer to the revelatory tractate.

When the narrative structure is removed the tractate stands out as a dialogue between the Father Hermes and the son, who is not named. Yet the dialogue cannot be compared to other forms of dialogue, such as the philosophical, dialectical exchanges of Plato, or other forms of revelatory discourse such as the Apocryphon of John. As opposed to

philosophical dialogues, Tractate 6 assumes a process of spiritual dynamism¹ which flows through the Father Hermes. The dialogue is therefore not "open-ended," but has more the dynamic sense of initiation or ordination, more the sense of a liturgical traditio-reditio exchange.

On the other hand, it is not simply a sort of revelatory discourse cloaked in the literary form of a dialogue (as in much of the Gnostic literature), since the son takes a creative and progressive part in the process. As Hermes says (55.19.22), it is the son's part to "understand" through his Nous, and the Father's part to deliver the spiritually effective discourse which inspires the flow through him. The son's part is equally important, and Hermes psychically examines him (59.27-60.1) to see if he has achieved the ascent.

Perhaps, then, the most descriptive term for this process would be "Mystery liturgy." The only other exact parallel to it as a literary genre would be C. H. XIII. Other fairly close parallels can be adduced. John 3.1-21, the discourse of Christ to Nicodemus concerning "rebirth," contains many of the same elements. Nicodemus participates creatively not just as a literary foil against which to develop the discourse, but as a person confronted and astounded by the concept of rebirth. He is not only a foil whose "misunderstanding" leads to further discourse, but a student who comes to Christ secretly and as a result (cf. John 19.19)² undergoes a spiritual change. The same might be said concerning the Sherpherd of Hermas, in that Hermas himself

¹Prof. Turner finds some parallel to the Platonic idea of eros in dialogue.

²Admittedly, Nicodemus' main function is as a Johannine literary foil.

undergoes a spiritual renewal through the discourse of the Shepherd. As opposed to the Revelation to St. John or the Apocryphon of John, the revelatory information of the Shepherd has a personally transforming effect upon Hermas, as well as being apocalyptically significant as a kind of "reading mystery." In other words, there seems to be a personal experience underlying the genre of our tractate--much more so than in pseudepigraphical apocalyptic literature.

This can be taken into account with the facts that our tractate is stylistically crude and non-philosophical, and the student is not a mythical character (as opposed to the Tat of C. H. XIII), so that the tractate could very possibly be copied from some sort of authentic Hermetic initiation document. If it records the "minutes" or transcript of one man's initiation as a Pneumatic, perhaps as a Hermetic teacher, or as a "Hermes," there would be cause to look for literary parallels in Hellenistic liturgies of ordination, coronation and initiation. Yet the only literary parallels which are extant exist among the Corpus Hermeticum, especially C. H. XIII.

One might point to the process involved in such places as Acts concerning Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, the apostles' laying on of hands, the development of the Christian catechumenate. But the fact is that we possess no actual transcripts of the secret teaching and dialogue involved in Christian school traditions. This was apparently maintained in oral tradition, from the mouth of the teacher to the ear of the hearer. What a privilege it would be to read transcripts from the schools of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Origen! The

Gospels portray Jesus in a creative, dialogical role with his disciples at times--one moment rebuking Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan," and another praising him for his receptivity to divine revelation. "For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven." The transfiguration, the resurrection and ascension, the "promise" of the parousia and the Paraclete, all preserve tantalizing hints of mystical revelation transmitted through oral teaching. But the teaching itself cannot exist in extant literary form, since it was delivered without record and often perhaps in privacy and secrecy.

The fact that Hermetism does transmit this kind of tradition in written form does not in itself prove that it was a literary cult of what has been called a "reading mystery."¹ The philosophical academies produced a great deal of oral tradition which has been preserved through classroom notes and transcripts, such as the deposit of Aristotle's writings. Pseudo-Platonic and Aristotelian works were written utilizing the same style, though becoming purely literary production. This problem then arises: which works authentically reflect the discipline and traditions of the academy, and which are simply fabrications? In the history of traditions, which literary works reflect the academy, and which are non-academic? The same problem occurs in medieval European mystery traditions, such as alchemy, in which a pharmacologist and medical doctor like Paracelsus produces a great deal of alchemical theory and literature without ever having done the actual laboratory practice, relying instead upon the bastardized Latin translation (attributed to

¹Reitzenstein, Poimandres, etc.

"Geber") of written traditions of the Sufi El Jabir.¹ Again, in both the Arabic and Latin traditions, all the mysteries of alchemy are ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus through the scientific-mystic traditions of Aristotelian physics and Hermetic gnōsis. Yet they relate to Hermetic traditions of the 4th century only as literature, and not as living tradition. The alchemical writings of Cleopatra of Alexandria, extant in Coptic from the 3rd century, or of Zosimus, relate more to metallurgy than psychic mystery, but served as the basis for later mysteries of the Arabic and European cultures.²

The question for our tractate, then, is whether it represents, in its original form, the transcript of an actual Hermetic initiation or simply the literary fabrication of the tradition. Several things seem to indicate that it does, in fact, represent an actual initiation. For one, as I have said, the initiand is not a mythic or legendary figure like Tat or Asclepius. He is at the "Tat-stage" of initiation, but he is not named as Tat. In C. H. XIII Tat is named only in the title, and it may, too, represent a real experience at some earlier stage of literary development. But in the form we have it, C. H. XIII serves as a paradigm or mythic pattern for initiation, which the later Tractate 6 follows to some degree. As a paradigm it remains more literary, and does not transmit certain esoteric ritual information such as we have in Tractate 6: the seven powerful vowels, the dynamic Name of God, the

¹Cf. E. J. Holmyard, Alchemy (London, 1968), in loc.

²Cf. E. J. Holmyard, Alchemy (London, 1968), chapters 1-6.

astrological rubrics and other directives. Tractate 6 exists in an idiomatic style of Coptic native to its place of discovery, and includes specific information concerning the temple of Diospolis and, most importantly, the time of the transcription of this initiation record into the temple archives: namely, when the sun is in Aries and Mercury is fifteen degrees in Virgo.¹ Our tractate, then, contains esoteric traditions with specific temporal and geographic directives, which C. H. XIII does not.

All this may possibly indicate an authentic life-setting in Hermetic academic initiation, for which the Greek Hermetic corpus is a more public literary production. As Tractate 6 appears in the Nag Hammadi library, however, it has been partially transformed into a public, rather than cultic, monument. For example, the "powerful" words and magic vowels of the invocation seem to have been piously altered to render them ineffective, and a minimal narrative structure plus final prayer have been added. Although Tractate 6 appears to be a later composition than C. H. XIII, it seems to stand much closer to the authentic Hermetic practice of initiation. It transmits more esoteric doctrine than does C. H. XIII, and therefore has historical as well as literary value.

Since the relationship of Tractate 6 to C. H. XIII is not one of source, but rather of form, it is necessary to define it not only as a literary genre, but as an academic-cultic tradition in its life-setting. This latter concern I shall discuss in the next section.

¹An astronomical impossibility. But see note in loc.

If the entire tractate were put into a narrative literary framework, as one redactor seems to have begun to do, it would be more accurate to identify the middle section as a revelatory vision. But it is written in the present tense, a combination of dialogical and discursive elements, and presents the vision as the goal, not the content, of a dynamistic mystery liturgy. "Words of power" are used, as in the magic papyri. Integral to the form or genre is the silent meditation, which itself has no literary expression and yet provides the central feature of the liturgy. Many terms could be proposed to describe the liturgy--Hermetic, dynamistic, revelatory, spiritual--but the one term which has seemed most appropriate is "mystery."¹ Our liturgy involves three elements of a mystery liturgy: legomena, (comprising the teacher's guidance by dialogue and discourse through the liturgy); deiknymena or visio beatifica (of the Ogdoas); and drōmena, (the rubrical directives of both Tractate 6 and C. H. XIII).²

The genre itself, then, should be designated as "mystery liturgy." Here it depends upon what I have called the "academic-cultic tradition" of Hermetic initiation, and falls into three major sections: a preparatory dialogue (in the Platonic tradition; cf. opening of *Timaeus*, Symposium; cf. also opening of *Asclepius*); a dynamistic revelatory discourse, in which both teacher and student are inspired to speak, sing and pray; and a final section of rubrics and sacred directives, including a covenantal blessing and cursing as an amulet or phylacterion for sacred protection of the mystery.

Outside of what is found in the Hermetic literature (cf. C. H. XIII;

¹For technical terms in Roman-Hellenistic mysteries (Father, son, brother, Pneumatic, etc.), see A. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 150f. See also sections on pneumatic rebirth.

²Terms familiar in classical references to the Eleusinian mysteries (cf. Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 19-22, et al.). For good modern bibliography see B. Metzger, Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish and Christian N.T. Tools and Studies, v. 8 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1968)

also C. H. I.24-25a), few close parallels exist to the sort of noetic mystery liturgy found in Tractate 6. Perhaps the "round dance" of Christ and the disciples while singing a Gnostic hymn (Acts of John, 94b-96) provides an example. Here there is mention of the Ogdoads singing praise, the number Twelve, the "All" taking part in praise, and perhaps Christ as "in tune with holy psychai."¹

Another possible reference might be the papyrus published in 1923 by Dieterich and brilliantly (but probably falsely) entitled, Eine Mithrasliturgie. Here the mystic invokes a Gnostic God ("First origin of my origin, first beginning of my beginning . . ."), ascends to divine realms, and dies in order to receive a "life-giving birth." The mystery of rebirth is accomplished, as in Hermetism, through the instrumentality of theurgical prayer.

The Isian mystery of rebirth described by Apuleius in The Golden Ass (XI.22-6) has some parallel to the Hermetic practice in that the initiate responds to his experience with aretalogical praise of Isis (cf. 25 26).

Again, there seems to be some parallel to the Gnostic Christian mystery of the Bridechamber enigmatically mentioned throughout the Gospel of Philip. Logion 31 states that, "The teleios conceive through a kiss." The father and son kiss each other in Tractate 6.57.26-28.

Undoubtedly a larger genre of mystery liturgy concerned with rebirth existed in the Roman Hellenistic period. Our concern, however, is with the specific mystery liturgy of Hermes Trismegistus. The best form-critical comparison, therefore, is found between the liturgy of Tractate

¹Hennecke-Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, Eng. trans. edited by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia, 1964), vol. II, p. 231, N. 5.

6 and C. H. XIII.

Within the Mystery Liturgy are smaller form-critical units, which may be outlined this way:

<u>Tractate 6</u>	<u>The Mystery Liturgy of Hermes Trismegistus</u>	<u>C. H. XIII</u>
<u>52.1-55</u>	<u>I. Preparatory Dialogue</u>	<u>Title - 8a</u>
52.1-7; repeated at 53.22-27; 55.23	A. <u>Request to fulfill Promise</u>	Title - 1
52.7 - 53.27a 52.16-20; 53.12-15 52.30 - 53.11, 17-21 52.20-25	B. <u>Revelatory Parables</u> 1. Simile 2. Metaphor 3. Paradox	2 - 6 2 - 5, especially Tat's confusion
53.27b - 55.22 55.10-14	C. <u>Exhortations</u> 1. Apodictic legal proverb 2. Catalogue of vices	7 - 8a 7b
<u>55.22 - 61.17</u>	<u>II. Revelatory Discourse</u>	<u>8b - 22a</u>
55.22 - 57.25	A. <u>Invocation</u>	8b - 9, 17 - 20
55.24 - 57.25	1. Catalogue of virtues	8b - 9
55.24	2. Doxological hymn	17 - 20
55.25 - 56.47; 57.11-16	a. Epiclesis	17 - 18b
56.17-22	b. Doxology	17b, 18c, 19a
56.22 - 57.25	c. Dynamistic formula	20
57.21-23	d. Petition	19b
57.26-28	i. Proverb ii. Rubric (Holy Kiss)	
57.28 - 61.17	B. <u>Ecstatic Vision</u>	10 - 22a
57.31 - 58.20; 59.29 - 60.1	1. Description of Ogdoad	
58.25 f.; 59.21f.	2. Silent hymn	16bf.
58.28 - 59.9; 60.17 - 61.17	3. Doxological hymn, or <u>Logike Thusia</u>	21b-c
60.29-32	a. Metaphor	21b
61.10-15	b. Dynamistic formula	21c
<u>61.18 - 63.32</u>	<u>III. Rubrics and Directives</u>	<u>13b, 16b, 22</u>
61.18 - 62.33	A. <u>Scribal Directives</u>	13b, 22a
61.18 - 62.20a	1. Astrological rubric	13b, 16b
62.22b-33a	2. Admonition to secrecy	22b
62.33b - 63.14a	B. <u>Cultic Formula</u>	22c

63.15b-31a
63.16-23a

63.23b-24
63.25-31a

C. Initiation Oath

1. Epiclesis of witnesses,
cosmic and theological
2. Command to keep oath
3. Formula for blessing and
cursing

As to whether it is possible to recover an original document which has undergone redaction, yet underlies the total structure, it is not clear. If only the elements common to Tractate 6 and C. H. XIII are retained, there remains a threefold structure, with the teacher's invocation and the student's hymnic imitation. But certain form-critical units are then out of place, such as the proverb of Tractate 6 which appears in the first part (55.19-22), but in the third section of C. H. XIII (22), namely that it is the teacher's part to discourse and the student's to listen with understanding. In Tractate 6 it appears as an admonition, but in C. H. XIII it has the character of a summary or cultic formula.

What is more, it would be purely arbitrary to remove the less integral and perhaps more doctrinal dialogue of Parts I and III as "later additions" to the discourse and vision of the middle section, since preparatory dialogue is found in most other Hermetical tractates including XIII, and the doctrinal discourses of the middle section seem clearly integral to the whole process and phenomenon of the vision. If the arbitrary decision to dissect the tractate were made, not only would it be consistent to assume the same disunity in most other Hermetic trac-

tates, including XIII, but the very present danger is run of overlooking the unity of the tractate, which is more integral to a mystery liturgy than, for example, a public evangelistic work such as the Poimandres.

Both Tractate 6 and C. H. XIII evidence a general unity of tradition and literary genre. They are both mystery liturgies, like the section in C. H. I. 24-26a,b, rather than whole literary productions, like C. H. I. Tractate 6 evidences a crude attempt toward narrative redaction,¹ but when these sparse elements are removed it stands on its own as a liturgical and literary unity. Recognizing the unity of the traditions preserved in the form-critical units, a hermeneutical evaluation can be made in our next section.

¹I.e., the narrative introduction to sentences at 52.26 and 59.23, but not the sentences themselves.

PART IV

10-10-10

The Hermetic Tradition of Tractate 6

The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and its related literature do not constitute the production of one clearly definable school in the history of traditions. Because the Hermetica do not represent a monolithic doctrine, cult or community (but rather a conglomeration of various academic and literary traditions), it is not possible to relate our tractate to a subgroup of extant Hermetic literature in any more than general terms.

It is apparent, however, that Tractate 6 has closest affinities to C. H. XIII. As Festugière has tried to demonstrate,¹ C. H. XIII.15 refers consciously to C. H. I.26, establishing a relationship at least on the redactional level, and also contains similar concepts to C. H. X (cf. C. H. XIII.1 genikoi logoi to C. H. X.1,7). Our tractate mentions genikoi logoi (63.2-3) and holds other concepts in common with C. H. X, such as the energeiai (X.1-2), the Ogdoads, (X.5,6-8), the "stringing" or attuning of the psychē to the vision (X.5), the importance of silence (X.5), the Nous as organon (X.10), God as archē (X.14, cf. 22), and the "brothers" or Ogdoadic daimons (X.21b). Also, there is nothing in Tractate 6 which specifically contradicts the doctrine of C. H. X.

C. H. XII.1b contains a proverb attributed to Agathos Daimon, but which appears directly in the text of C. H. XI, spoken by Nous. There

¹La Révélation, Vol. II, pp. 8f.

are many other similarities between C. H. XI and XII--the aeon-terminology (which is not typical of other Greek Hermetic tractates), the rebuke for the student to "be quiet," the concern for Ogdoadic vision, the interpretation of energeiai; the seeking after apotheosis, God as pege, and Cosmos as God's eikōn, an aeon. All these terms and concerns appear with similar interpretations in our tractate, and C. H. XI affords some striking parallels such as Nous "seeing itself" (XI.22b), the ascent of the student and cosmic ecstasy (XI.19-21, cf. 19b), and the pronoia and sophia of God (XI.3,5).

To this subgroup can be added C. H. IV, which maintains a similar cosmology to the Poimandres, and speaks of the anodos (IV.8).

Thus the closest parallels to Tractate 6 relate to a subgroup of the Hermetica which, in itself, has strong interrelations: C. H. I, IV, X, XI, XII, and XIII. Even if these parallels of doctrine occur simply because of similarity of subject matter, they still indicate common traditions.

Of these six Greek logoi (as they term themselves), four are dictated by Hermes to Tat, and two by Nous to Hermes. In tractate 6 Hermes delivers the discourse to an unnamed student, but is also called Nous (58.21,26-27). C. H. X.1,7 states that Tat has had the genikoi logoi addressed to him, and now in X.1 is to receive the epitome of them. Our tractate speaks of him "... who is not in the beginning born from God" coming into manifestation "in genikoi and exotikoi logoi" (63.1-3).

It seems clear (cf. my Note 68) that the genikoi logoi are general

and exōtikoi or exoteric Hermetic discourses on the nature of God, man and the universe. C. H. X, "The Key," is regarded as a summary abridgement of exoteric teachings in the genikoi. It states (X.7) that the genikoi treated of the same protological mythic doctrine and demiurgical philosophy (creation of World-Soul, subject of metempsychosis, etc.) that are found in other epitomes like the Kore Kosmou and the Asclepius. They, in turn, present the same general material that is basic to Plato's Timeaus. Interestingly, the Timeaus is supposed to have been delivered by an Egyptian astrologos, and is attributed to the mysteries of Egypt.¹

Clearly most of the extant Corpus Hermeticum consists of summaries of the genikoi or discourses of a topical and special nature (see my Note 68). With the exception of C. H. XIII, they are still probably exoteric, but only for small audiences, often even one pupil. They seem to be preparatory to the Mystery Liturgy, and there is some evidence

¹It is possible (as I have said) that the question of Hermetic origin in native Egypt is not dead. The connection of Tractate 6 with the Egyptian House of Life, which may be the institution that produced the Books of the Dead (cf. Gardiner, "The House of Life," op. cit.), and the resemblance of Hermetic anodos to the Egyptian ascent of the dead past the heavenly gatekeepers, may indicate common origins in Egyptian priestly mysteries. The absence of Platonic ideas in Tractate 6, as against the extant medieval Greek Corpus Hermeticum (which may have been Platonized in transmission--cf. my last chapter), the affinities to Gnosticism, the clearly native Egyptian provenance of the tractate, the many awed allusions to Hermes Trismegistus among Hellenistic writers as an Egyptian revealer or prophet, Clement of Alexandria's reference to the Books of Hermes of Serapian priests, Plato's attribution of the teachings in the Timeaus (which seem to be essentially mythical) to Egypt--circumstantial evidence outside of the medieval Corpus Hermeticum itself, which may be Platonized, points to Egyptian origins.

that they are associated with ethical-mystical progress through the Hebdomad, as various "degrees" toward revelatory enlightenment culminating in the Mystery Liturgy (cf. 54.28). The student is to "remember" each one of the bathmoi or degrees (52.13).

The entire scheme of progress on the Path presented by Tractate 6 may be outlined in the following way:

A. Conversion

Decision to become an Hermetic catechuman, through either reading the kerygmatic C. H. I, "Poimandres," or hearing an Hermetic teacher in public discourse (cf. C. H. I.28). Life-setting: public teaching; period of probation.

B. Instruction in the Genikoi Logoi (62.30b - 63.14a)

Period of philosophical and catechetical studies, of which the Corpus Hermeticum preserves extant epitomes and summaries (Asclepius, Kore Kosmou, C. H. X). Life-setting: private academic instruction, small groups.

C. Progress on the Anodos through the Hebdomad (56.27f.; 63.5f.)

Ethical-mystical canon of discipline involving personal behavior, piety and the upbuilding of the soul through special topical discourses (C. H. II - IX, et. al.). Life-setting: private academic instruction, one pupil at a time.

D. Mystery Liturgy of Hermes Trismegistus (Tractate 6)

Apotheosis of the pupil in rebirth as a Pneumatic in the brotherhood of the Ogdoad (C. H. I.24-25a; C. H. XIII; Tractate 6). Life-setting: secret revelatory discourse with a "Hermes."

When the student first joined the public catechumenate, he may still have been considered to be only a "hearer," but certainly by the second stage he received some kind of confirmation as a serious follower. This would be the likely point for a Hermetic sacrament, if such a thing existed--perhaps as the "ambrosial water" of C. H. I.29, the "inexorable water" of the Hermopolitan letter of Anatolius (cf. my p.151 n.2), the "spring-water" allegorized consistently throughout Tractate 6. If so, the ritual would be simple and direct, as in C. H. IV.4: a herald

or keryx solemnly proclaiming, "You who have 'power' baptize yourself in this basin, believing that you shall ascend to Him who sent down the basin, and recognizing why you have come into being."

It is quite possible that there was no such ritual. Isis pouring forth a sweet "ambrosia" for Horus (Kore Kosmou 2) may be parallel to the next phrase, "she began her most holy discourse." The "ambrosia" may be simply a metaphor for divine communion, and the "inexorable water" of Anatolius' letter may refer to an entirely unrelated guild libation for travelers who desired the favor of their patron Hermes.

The second stage of progress probably prepared for the mystic ascent to God through the Hebdomad, and the "promise of the Silence" mentioned in the title of C. H. XIII. Here the student began his Hermetic meditations, in which "the sleep of the body became wakefulness of psyche, and the closing of the eyes true sight, and my silence¹ pregnant with the Good, and the bringing forth of the logos a birth of good things" (C. H. I.30). The private academic teaching was done in classes of more than one student (cf. C. H. X.1,7--the epitome of the genikoi logoi given to both Tat and Asclepius), and appears to have consisted of the general discourses.

Perhaps there was no distinction between a second and a third stage. The distinction seems appropriate simply because the ascent through the

¹The word here, and in the Hermetic admonitions to "be quiet" so characteristic of many tracts, is siopē, the cessation of speech. The "promise of Silence" of C. H. XIII is sige, the Gnostic primal source and unity, apparently meaning a religious or meditative silence. Siopē, then, may have defined a discipline of silence like that practiced by Pythagoreans, while sige was deep, profound Hermetic meditation on God and ta onta (C. H. I.1).

Hebdomad in Tractate 6 is so clearly a process of "piety" which has been adopted previous to the giving of the discourse. It is clear from the lines 56.27f. that the attainment to the Hebdomad is rooted in past and present "piety" and discipline. Even more convincing is the description of the "upward path" by Hermes, 62.30b-63.14a:

"He who is not born at first from God (i.e., the son) comes to be in genikoi and exōtikoi logoi. He does not measure up to what is written in this scroll, although his conscience is clear respecting himself, since he does no shameful deed and does not approve of such. And yet, by degrees (kata bathmoi) he advances, entering upon the Path of immortality. And in this way he enters into the understanding of the Eighth, which reveals the Ninth."

It would seem that in order to "measure up" to the moral perfection required, the student must progress by steps or degrees. Both the ascent through the Hebdomad of astral spheres is mentioned (C. H. I.24-26a), and a cleansing of the twelve zodiacal aspects of "this tent from which we went forth" (C. H. XIII.12a) by the "powers" of the Decad. The connection between the exōtikoi logoi and the Hebdomad, then, would be one of ethical-mystical sanctification. The general and topical exoteric discourses would elevate the student through the twelve "degrees" for riddance of the twelve aspects of thymos, the "afflictions" of the "executioners." The elevation through the Hebdomad would involve the "death" of the student (cf. 59.20), dissolution of the physical body and release of the daemon to fly upwards, deactivating the seven astral

aspects of the horoscopic ēthos as it passed each "gate." In Tractate 6 this has been spiritualized and "realized" as a mystic ascent partaken of during meditation. It is to the Hebdomadic sanctification that the making oneself "an alien to the cosmos" refers in C. H. XIII.1. This is also what is meant in Tractate 6, at 52.9-13, where Hermes reminds the student that when he instituted the "promise" he stipulated that the student must keep in his MEEYE or "consciousness" each one of the "degrees." If not, the student cannot be cleansed by the Decad of "powers" and rise sanctified for rebirth into the Ogdoad.

Previous to the Mystery Liturgy, then, the student has completed an academic course of general discourses, certain special or topical discourses, and also a cultic, pietistic period of religious practice. This latter would include Hermetic legal discipline, sunset¹ devotions and prayers to the "reality" behind the sun, and practice in Hermetic meditation--which may have involved breathing or "pneumatic" exercises and other techniques never written down. What other practices might have existed is not clear. Some Hermetic traditions seem to be reflected in the theurgical liturgies of the Greek magic papyri,² and probably extended to astrological traditions such as that of the Manetho literature.³ Beyond these speculations, however, nothing is known.

The function of the topical discourses, then, was dynamic inspiration and sanctification, after the general discourses had prepared the

¹And possibly sunrise, cf. C. H. XIII.16b.

²Cf. P. G. M. IV.850ff. et al.

³Cf. Syncellus, p. 72, in Manetho, ed. W. G. Waddell (London, 1964).

Nous for reception of rebirth and apotheosis. In another Hermetic tradition such as that represented by C. H. IX.1f., mention is made of the "Perfect Discourse" (one title of the Asclepius), and C. H. IX is called the "Discourse on Sense" or the human senses. Here, I would maintain, is the same progression I have noted between my stages B. and C. The Asclepius is a summary of the whole philosophical teaching concerning the generation of the All from God and the creation of the cosmos from genus to species. In other words it, like C. H. X, is an epitomē of the genikoi logoi. This would correspond to my stage B. Immediately following this epitomē comes C. H. IX (or something like it), a discourse on the human senses, that is, the delusory organs of human consciousness which are related to astral economy and which must be purified. This kind of teaching has to do with Hermetic piety and techniques of meditation,¹ and thus belongs to the subject matter of the topical discourses, which I have associated with stage C. Even though the Asclepius and C. H. IX belong apparently to another Hermetic tradition, they provide some evidence for the progression I have suggested.

The philosophical teaching of the general discourses concerns four general categories: Theology; Cosmology, Anthropology; Soteriology. The doctrine which underlies Tractate 6 in these four areas can be recovered to some extent and compared to the subgroup of Greek Hermetica with which it is most closely allied.

Theology

God is Father of the All, the Mighty One of dynamis (cf. C. H. XI.6,

¹Cf. C. H. I.1, the epiphany of the Nous "while my bodily senses were held in check (katechein) . . ."

God is dynamis), the Unbegotten from whom begotten things have arisen (57.13-15). It is through Him that the All received psychē (56.11-12; cf. C. H. XI.4 and X.7). He is without lack, the King of the aion who has created all things through spiritual energy (56.4-10). He is unseen, and spoken to in silence (Coptic literally, "held mouth"). He comforts and heals (56.16; 57.23), and His Will begets the life of the "likenesses everywhere" (55.31; cf. C. H. XI.4b, where "life" is given to the mimetic All through psychē). God's "nature" gives form (morphe) to being or essence (ousia), 55.32f., a different use of ousia than is found in such a place as C. H. VI.4b,¹ and an idea generally unexpressed in the Greek corpus (although somewhat implicit in the concepts of C. H. XI).

As in C. H. XI, God's creativity is generative and concerned with aeons. God originally exists as the Agennetos or Unbegotten One. From Him is the birth of the Autogennetos or Self-Begotten One (57.15-16). Next would be Aeon (cf. 59.6-7), since God the Source (pēgē) is the Aeon of aeons. Aeon would contain the plērōma of aeons (57.8), which would include Pronoia (54.15; 59.5), Sophia (56.23; 57.25; 62.33), Life (61.6), Light (57.30) and other purifying "powers," subordinate to Nous, through which "light" or understanding is born. It is God's Nous which acts through the teacher or "Hermes" of the mystery liturgy to deliver God's creative Logos in regenerative action through the discourse (55.20-22).

Divinity is an unseen quality which exists in the purified spirit of man, so that apotheosis must be a purification. Death is the final

¹Where God's ousia is "the Beautiful."

Hebdomadic condition for rebirth. As in C. H. XIII, the zodiac-body must be dissolved for the dynamis-body, but unlike the pure metaphor of C. H. XIII.2-3 where Hermes speaks of his body as already immortal, our tractate regards the apotheosis as a simile, that is, an imitation through reception of typos. The prayer (57.5-11) asks God to grant them to see, through spirit, the form (morphe) of God's image, and to receive the typos of "figure" of the plērōma through their hymn of praise. Thus the participation in divinity is theurgical, mystical and only partial.

The "brothers," on the other hand, are those perfected Souls who have fully ascended and exist continuously in the Ogdoads of praise to God. The praise is rendered up to God's abode in the Tenth (I assume) through the plērōma, which is revealed in the Ninth or Ennead (cf. 56.26; 59.31; 61.22; 63.14).

Cosmology

The cosmos is God's image or eikōn (cf. 56.13 et al.) and has no flaw (57.5-6). The contemplation of God's cosmos reveals truth, since the cosmos is His image (57.4). The cosmos is the psyche of the All (57.12; cf. C. H. X, XI).

In C. H. XI.3-4 the cosmos is the work of the Aeon, which is the power of God, but in C. H. X.14 cosmos is said to be God's son, and man the son of cosmos, as in the Timaeus. Possibly the eikōn in our tractate is The Aeon, since the eikōn is said to be "moved while governed" (56.13-14), a description of Heimarmene in its spheres and zodiacal houses. But even in C. H. XI, aeon or "age, eternity" is

simply astral motion of the cosmos hypostatized as time. Thus the Aeon is the motion of the cosmos as a sort of universal clock, machine and centrifuge. It is through this motion that God's Will (55.30-32) generates the life of the "likenesses" or species of creation, and acts in the spiritual begetting of the student (60.31-32). "Thy Will performs psaltery upon me." In the mystery liturgy of Tractate 6 the generative action of God's Will results immediately in the self-revelation and reception of "power" (60.32.61.1, "I see myself! I have received power through Thee!").

The nomos of God stands above, and yet for man "in opposition to," the "works of Heimarmene" (62.27-29). The breaking of God's ordinances is transgression (the verb paraban) or the violation of set limits. This concept of cosmic imprisonment while yet under the redeeming nomos of God implies the practical importance of cosmic harmonia of the four elements, air, earth, fire and water, the seven producers of substantial being (ousiarches), and the spirit of creation within them (63.17-21). The Hermetic initiate of Tractate 6 is spiritually free from the rule of Heimarmene. Yet while he remains in the physical body he must learn to manipulate and oppose the works of Heimarmene through his enlightened understanding of cosmic "sympathy" and "harmony." It is this astrological-chemical view of the cosmos which must be taken into account for all actions, especially sacred actions such as the writing down of the scroll.

Such an action must be done at the proper astrological time (62.16-20) and with the proper alchemical materia (62.1-15). It will

then be overseen by the Nous (cf. 61.31-62.1) with eight guards keeping watch, activated by the energeia of the sun's rays (62.4-9). The positive or male forces on the right side are frog-faces, perhaps related in meaning to the Egyptian goddess Heqt, who assisted women in childbirth, thus here a symbol for divine rebirth.¹ The negative or female forces on the left are cat-faces, perhaps related to the use of the cat symbol in Isis religion (cf. Plutarch On Isis and Osiris, 376C-E), which was engraved on the top of the sacred seistrion or "rattle." The seistrion, says Plutarch, represented motion and generative creativity, as did the cat. Both the cat and frog were associated with sexual generation, birth and the action of the moon. Symbolically, then, the "frog-faces" and "cat-faces" provide lunar receptivity for the enlivening action of the solar rays, and the inscribed scroll (which is called by a "name," 61.21-22), representing the new birth of the "son," is nourished by the environment of the temple, much as a plant in a garden, or mummy in a tomb. The turquoise steles are bluish-green, perhaps representing the color of the heavens, and are to be placed upon a perfectly square milkstone, which may relate to the earth's (square) foundation upon the four elements and four "corners." The white certainly may represent purity, and the milkiness represent the new-born babe's nourishment. The "representation" is itself rooted in alchemical ideas of cosmic sympatheia and mimesis, which perhaps develop through Platonic cosmology and academic science.

¹H. Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion (New York, 1961), p. 15.

Anthropology

Man, the anthrōpos, is not mentioned by name in Tractate 6. Throughout, however, there are indications of the anthropology underlying.

Man is a begotten creature of spirit, soul and flesh who is not "reconciled" with God (63.25-26). He originally "transgressed" his limits (62.30; 63.28), a Greek term which points to a myth such as the Kore Kosmou, in which the heavenly psychai associated with each star sinned by "transgressing" the natural limits which God has assigned, wheeling far out of their proper orbits and bringing about a state of chaos. To purify them, God ordained for them to undergo metempsychōsis or reincarnation until they had overcome their disobedience.

Because of man's estrangement from God, he has had to undergo the cosmic cycles of birth and the "wrath" of Heimarmene (63.29-31).

There seems to be a distinction made between "those who are not born in the beginning from God" (62.33-63.1f), who, like the student of Tractate 6, "come to be in general and ἐκτεταταῖς discourses," and do not fully measure up to the divinity of the scroll on the one hand, and the implied class of men who are born in the beginning from God, on the other hand. In the latter class would be the Hermetic heroes and "Hermes," perhaps even the Hermetic teachers who had attained to "fatherhood." Certainly all men, including the Hermetic catechumens who had not attained to the vision of the Ogdoad, would belong to the former class. Thus mankind would consist of three classes: the transgressors, men following their passions and living in estrangement to

God and His nomos; the "free citizens" or "pious ones," who had undertaken the Hermetic discipline and progressed along the "Path to immortality" through purification of the conscience in well-doing and academic knowledge (63.5-10a); and the men "who have come into being" as "brothers" or spirituals, and are true sons of God.

Soteriology

Man is redeemed to divine status by the revelation of Hermes Trismegistus, who personifies the Nous or "intellect" of God. As in all Gnostic and other mystic processes of spiritualization, the mystic, contemplative fascination with the generation of to on(reality) and with the genitive case in language itself, has resulted in the personification of an hypostatic Nous of God as a subjective genitive concept, from the objective "understanding" or Nous of/concerning God. That is to say, it seems that Hellenistic academic traditions progress into mystic and meditative modes of thought by a process of subjectivity which actually involves language itself. For example, in the endeavor to find wisdom concerning God (Sophia Tou Theou), wisdom of Sophia itself becomes hypostatized to be the Sophia from God. The objective genitive becomes a subjective genitive, and is associated with a whole system of divine "generation." The same is true of Nous. Thus there is both a human Nous and the divine Nous, which yet are unified in the special state of recognition which Hermetic meditation evokes. The instrument of redemption is Nous, the "understanding" of God.

The mode of redemption is through transmission of pronoia or primal understanding which has been "measured out" (54.15-18; cf. translation

note 19). From the dynamistic meditation and "living discourse," the student gained prokope or "progress" (54.13-14). In such fashion the intellectual and psychic worked together for sanctification in the "attainment to the Hebdomad" (56.27b).

Yet is is perhaps too dogmatic to force a distinction between intellectual and psychic processes in sanctification. Certainly the student sees the two as a unity when he declares (54.23-27) that he understands (noein) only the "beautiful thing" which came to him while reading the discourses, namely the beauty of the psyche--that is, the macrocosm and the microcosm. This edification, replies Hermes, is what came to the student by degrees (kata bathmos) in reading the scrolls. Now, he continues, the student must allow the understanding (noēsis) to become manifest and grow in him. This is somewhat parallel to the Johannine concept of spiritual sanctification through Christian "belief" in and obedience to the words of Christ (John 14.21-23), which will result in the manifestation of Christ to the believer, and the "coming" to him and indwelling of the Father and the Son. The difference is that divine manifestation in Hermetism required cosmological as well as ethical understanding. The Christian manifestation of Christ is primarily one of the "heart" (cf. John 14.21b, "He who loves (agapein) me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him."), whereas the Hermetic visitation of the Nous in Ogdoadic ecstasy was necessarily a noetic or intellectual process which presumed esoteric scientific or philosophical knowledge.

After Hermetic sanctification came the mystery liturgy of rebirth.

This was the culmination of initiation, and the admittance to all mysteries and spiritual blessings. Yet it was not the end of the "Path," as the apparent title of our tractate indicates (cf. translation notes 51, 52), since "the Eighth (Ogdoad) reveals the Ninth (Ennead)." The Eighth sphere of the upward path became the new abode of "those who have come into being," or the pneumatic "brothers." This community of saints was made up both of living pneumatics and deceased saints. To them was reserved the greatest apokalypsis: the contemplation of and participation in the aeonic "powers" of the Pleroma who existed before the very face of God. The "powers" were such hypostaseis as Light, Life, Truth, Goodness, Knowledge and Grace (cf. C. H. XIII.8b-9). They were the aeons of the Aeon, and by participating in them the "brothers" themselves became "eternal" and immortal. Even though the student was still "in the body" after the liturgy, this was only a delusory appearance and in spirit he was resting in the Ogdoad. Hermes tells the student that it is now appropriate to sing hymns to the Father, that is, to continue in Ogdoadic worship through private meditation and ecstasy, "until the day of putting off the body," or physical death. It can be assumed that at his physical death the student's daemon would ascend through the Hebdomad, forsaking the inert planetary aspect (the ethos¹) of his psyche as he passed upward through the spheres to reach the Eighth Heaven, or firmament of fixed stars, where he would take his proper place in

¹I.e., the personal and physical characteristics.

association with a particular star, singing praises to God eternally.¹

It seems clear from our examination of the traditions of Tractate 6 that they have a close relationship to one subgroup of the Greek corpus: C. H. I, IV, X, XI, XII, and XIII. But the relationship is not positive enough to proceed into speculation about the place of Tractate 6 in the Corpus Hermeticum.

Certainly our tractate has a formal relationship to the mystery liturgy of C. H. XIII, but this is a relationship of common tradition, rather than literary dependence. It is not an imitation of C. H. XIII, and does not use it as a source. On the other hand, it knows the same liturgy and makes use of the same literary genre. The final oath is certainly evangelistic rather than purely prophylactic, since instead of telling the reader not to read or disturb the discourse (which would be more parallel to tomb inscriptions) it exhorts him to be faithful to what Hermes has said (63.23-24). Ostensibly this refers to Hermes' speech of 62.22-26, where he tells the student to inscribe an oath in order to prevent the divine and dynamistic Name of God (56.17-22; 61.10-15) from being misused by magicians. But the fact is that our discourse is extant as a Coptic manuscript, and not as a hieratic inscription on a turquoise stele. Thus it is, in its present form, a "reading mystery." Yet it preserves what may be cultic memoranda or stenographic mnēmēia of a real and historical Hermetic liturgy, and it knows the philosophical doctrines of God, Cosmos, Man and Salvation which are found in the Greek Hermetica and Latin Asclepius.

¹Cf. Daniel 12.3, "And those who are wise in understanding (synientes --like Daniel himself) will shine as the brightness of heaven, and those who are fully competent (katischyontes) in my Logos as the stars of heaven unto the aion of aionōn;" LXX version

PART V

The Significance of Tractate 6 for Hermetic Studies

The discovery of Codex VI, Tractate 6, the Hermetic initiation discourse, among the Sethian and Valentinian monuments of the Nag Hammadi library has a great impact upon many areas of Hermetic studies.

Previous to the advent of Tractate 6 Hermetic studies had been dependent upon medieval Greek manuscripts dating from no earlier than the 14th century.¹ These manuscripts are essentially philosophical works, and although what appear to be titles or sections of them correspond to citations in Hellenistic writers, there has been no way to evaluate how much adaption to medieval concepts our so-called Corpus Hermeticum might have undergone in transmission as Greek manuscripts. Even though it appears that the preservation of the Corpus is due to a single manuscript discovered in the 11th century,² and that the later popularity of Platonism and Trismegistic religious philosophy stimulated by such scholars as Psellus might account much more than is realized for the resemblances between the two in our extant Greek manuscripts,³ scholars of the 20th century have generally agreed that our Corpus Hermeticum represents authentic Hellenistic religion and philosophy.⁴

¹Cf. the list of manuscripts, Nock-Festugière, vol. I, pp. 2-3.

²Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904), p. 319. Cf. Nock-Festugière, I.xlii.

³Ibid., p. 320; cf. G. R. S. Mead, Thrice Greatest Hermes (London, 1906), pp. 7-8.

⁴See the excellent summary on the problem of dating in C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 11ff. Dodd says (p. 11), "It seems by now to be generally accepted that these writings were produced, in Egypt, for the most part in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D."

The discovery of Tractate 6 validates much of what has been surmised about Hermetism in the early Christian period. Clearly a cult of Hermes Trismegistus actually existed in Hellenistic Egypt alongside Valentinian and other Gnostic groups. Yet the type of Hermetism represented in Tractate 6 seems to have much closer relations to Gnosticism than Neoplatonism. The distinction between these two movements which Plotinus so vehemently maintained¹ might be found to apply to a comparison of what is found in Tractate 6 with what has been presumed to have existed as savant Hermetic philosophy.²

Certainly the new tractate combines elements from the two types of Hermetism described by Festugière.³ The populaire writings are supposed to deal with alchemy, magic and astrology, while the savant scriptures convey sublime philosophy. Festugière includes C. H. XIII, the treatise on rebirth which seems to be a prototype of Tractate 6, among the écrits savants.⁴ Yet our Coptic tractate contains definite alchemical, magical and astrological rubrics which do not appear in C. H. XIII. Furthermore, no direct parallels to Platonic philosophy are evident in Tractate 6. Rather, the similarities of language and thought are to other Greek and Latin Hermetic literature and to Valentinian and other Gnostic systems.⁵ The few technical terms of Tractate 6 which have

¹ Enneads II.9.

² A.-J. Festugière, L'Hermetisme (Lund, 1948), pp. 5ff.

³ Ibid., cf. pp. 12ff., 17ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 33ff.

⁵ The technical vocabulary--Coptic words: immortal, imperishable, unchanging, likeness, love, truth, well-spring, divinity, greatness,

relations to forms of Platonism are also familiar in other Hermetic literature: theōria, genikoi logoi, morphē, logos, nous, noēsis, ousia typos, and a few others.

Since Tractate 6 represents a Trismegistic tradition whose main alliances are with Gnostic rather than Platonistic thought, it is reasonable to question whether the Greek and Latin Hermetic writings extant from medieval Europe might reflect a much altered and Platonized form. The numerous parallels to Platonistic thought adduced by Kroll,¹ Festugière² and others, which have been thought to characterize historical Trismegistic traditions of the Hellenistic period, may indeed derive in the main from a much later period. Certainly the imaginative alterations in the Hermetic manuscript transmitted by Psellus, such as the Platonistic theological dissertation of some 40 lines added to C. H. I.18,³ illustrate the philosophical adaptation of Trismegistic thought in process during the medieval period. Even the brilliant textual work of Nock and Festugière in the Budé series cannot get "behind" the extant medieval manuscripts.⁴

wisdom, consciousness, to remember, House of Life, to beget, purity, adjure, light, path (spiritual), etc.; Greek words: agennētos, alētheia, archē, aiōn, autogenēs, gennētos, gnōsis, dynamis, heimarmenē, logikōē thysia, ogdoas, ennas, eikōn, plērōma, sophia, etc.

¹J. Kroll, Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos (Münster, 1914).

²La Révélation, cf. volume II, "Preface," for a discussion of the problems in relating Hermetic philosophy to other Hellenistic schools of thought.

³Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 333-34, note to line 13.

⁴Nock-Festugière, op. cit. Cf. "Introduction," pp. xi-xxxvi, for a discussion of the very difficult textual problems.

Festugière's categories of populaire and savant Hermetic traditions may characterize chronological rather than cultic differences. The savant philosophy may represent later school traditions, while the so-called populaire literature might constitute monuments from earlier cultic practice. The whole issue of Hermetic cultism, which Reitzenstein took quite seriously,¹ has been generally laid aside by modern scholars in favor of the view that Hermetism constituted not a cult, but a movement of thought probably carried on as school-traditions or even just as literary reading-mysteries.²

The historical phenomenon and life-setting associated with the Corpus Hermeticum has recently been characterized by Van Moorsel.³ He regards Hermetic piety as more a literary than cultic phenomenon, following out the ideas of Festugière in his chapter, "Les Fictions Littéraires du Logos de Révélation."⁴ Van Moorsel sees Hermetic thought as a process of "spiritualization," in which literary references to cultic practices are meant only allegorically.

The character of Tractate 6 does not fit into the framework of Hellenistic Hermetic practice portrayed by Van Moorsel. One area in which Van Moorsel's conclusions must be re-evaluated is in what he calls the "negative" and "positive" aspect of Hermetic spiritualization, pp.

¹Cf. Poimandres, pp. 177ff.

²In his later thought, Reitzenstein had suggested that C. H. XIII (the treatise in rebirth resembling Tractate 6), rather than being cultic liturgy, constituted a "reading-mystery" ("Lese-Mysterium," R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, Leipzig, 1927, p. 52).

³The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus (Utrecht, 1955).

⁴La Révélation, Volume I, pp. 309-354.

34-76. Here he demonstrates the radical distaste Hermetism as a religio mentis had for all physical sacramentalism, in view of its positive emphasis upon metaphor and allegory. He concludes one section with the following words (p. 57): "What engaged us so far came to this: the one grand salutary experience in Hermetism does entirely without 'normal' drōmenon . . ." But that "one grand salutary experience" which is the subject of our Tractate 6 certainly does contain ta drōmena. Not only do we find astrological and alchemical directives, but singing of the seven powerful vowels, use of the dynamistic name of God, and a "powerful oath." This is the sort of thing we might expect from the Greek magical papyri or the so-called "lower forms of Gnosticism," such as that associated with Marcos, but certainly not from Hermetic tradition--at least as Van Moorsel portrays it. According to his view, Hermetism of the "higher" academic sort had nothing but disdain for such ceremonial-magical elements as the practice of horoscopy or the materia of alchemy--in spite of the fact that in the Hellenistic history of traditions this knowledge is attributed to Hermes, and in the later centuries to Hermes Trismegistus. Thus, it seems, our tractate could be the missing link between the earlier Hermetism of the Greek corpus and the later Hermetism of such a figure as Zosimus.

It is possible, then, to take some issue with the view that is expressed by Van Moorsel in The Mysteries, pp. 70-71: "The devotees of religio mentis loved to handle their metaphors so dare-devilly as to make the innocent reader believe that something empiric is 'on': be it sacrifice, baptism or the drinking of gnosis-water." Certainly most

of his thesis concerning the Greek and Latin Hermetica still stands firmly. But the evidence of our tractate suggests strongly that the devotees of a religio mentis could easily be devotees of occult science as well.¹ The Trismegistic traditions of alchemy and astrology which became current in later Islamic and European mysticism were highly-regarded sciences. Such medieval adepts as Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villanova and Paracelsus developed a highly spiritual Hermetic mysticism, and demonstrate the "workability" of such a piety. It seems quite possible that some Hermetic traditions, ours among them, used occult sciences and ceremonies.

Whether the tradition of Tractate 6 is a populaire or savant form of religious practice, to use Festugière's terms, seems to be a moot question. It has been presumed that Hermetism disdained so-called "magical" practices, because the presumably savant literature at times speaks against magicians and astrologers. Yet perhaps the distinction Hermetism makes in disparaging such practices is one of status. As the end of Tractate 6 clearly states,² even though the teacher and student have made cultic use of a divine "magic" name (such as those found in the Greek magical papyri), they fear it will be misused by non-Hermetics.

¹Hans Lewy (op. cit.), pp. 237-38. The Neoplatonics Iamblichus and even Porphyry had an association with theurgical practice. Olympiodorus (Phaed. 120.29) knew that the official state mysteries observed the theurgic syntaxis or "conjunction" of initiate and daemon, and Proclus indicated (Alc. 340.1) that even the Eleusinian mysteries had appropriated theurgical technique.

²62.22-33: "Inscribe, furthermore, an oath upon the scroll, lest the Name be put to an evil purpose by those who will read the scroll, and not to opposing the works of Heimarmene. They should be subordinate to the ordinance of God, not having at all transgressed, but rather in purity seeking from God their wisdom and gnosis."

Their use of occult power for divine worship is the correct and valid use. Another attempting to manipulate such science is a mere "magician" or transgressor. Thus to this form of Hermetism it is not the occult science itself that is of "lower" status, but rather the presumptuous misuse of its power. Indeed, the knowledge of astrology, alchemy, theurgy, along with the arts of healing, building, mathematics and others attributed to Hermes-Thoth, could have been considered the rightful property only of great Hermetic adepts or "Hermes." Although this cannot be fully demonstrated with present monuments available to the scholar, the point of view that Trismegistic piety held itself aloof from cultic, sacramental and liturgical practices has certainly lost ground with the discovery of Tractate 6.

To raise the issue in another way, if an important aspect of Hermetic sanctification was the mystic ascent through the Hebdomad to make void the qualities of the astral ēthos, and if this ethical-mystical discipline were carried out as part of Hermetic piety, how could the student know what his ēthos was unless he had an interpretation of his natal horoscope? We know that natal astrology was later considered to be a Trismegistic science, and that the greatest numbers of extant Greek horoscopes are to be found in the first century (extending to the fifth),¹ so that natal astrology had come into its own as a science. In Tractate 6 we are given directives for an "exalted" cosmic horoscope (62.16-20)

¹Cf. the chart, p. 161, in O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes (Philadelphia, 1959). According to the "References" (p. 208), H. T. Gundel published a new astrological text attributed to Hermes Trismegistus which was supposed to contain very early material of Critodemus (Abh. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss.; Philos.-hist. Abt. NF 12, 1936).

to signify the student's rebirth as a Pneumatic. Perhaps part of the student's piety has been to accomplish the nullification of astral characteristics given to him by Helmarmene at birth--such as liturgically described in C. H. I.25-26, the anodos of the soul. There might then have been an epistemic or "scientific" aspect to sanctification in Hermetic tradition, requiring skill in the occult sciences which were later attributed to Hermes Trismegistus by Zosimus.¹

Tractate 6 has closest relations in terminology and thought to C. H. I, IV, X, XI, XII and XIII.² In lumping the whole Greek and Latin Hermetic corpus together in order to build his view of Trismegistic piety, Van Moorsel³ has confused separate traditions. Most of what he concludes about Hermetic piety applies directly or indirectly to Tractate 6. But interestingly, many of his excellent insights concerning Hermetic thought that can also be taken as applicable to Tractate 6, prove to be based upon his examination of parallels among the very subgroup I mention above.⁴

His view⁵ that salvific gnosis is integral to the Hermetica can

¹Certainly the letter of Zosimus Panopolitanus to Theosebia (cf. W. Scott, Hermetica, London, reprinted 1968, Vol. IV, p. 111) indicates that by following the example of the legendary Mambres and practicing theurgy for the purpose of overcoming demonic powers, one attains "even the physically pure birth (8.14)." Thus one makes for harbor epi ton Poimenandren.

²Cf. my pages 130-31.

³The Mysteries, op. cit.

⁴Such as his section on the "descensive" character of gnosis (pp. 30-32) and the "particularization" of Nous (pp. 32-33).

⁵Also expressed by C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 14-17.

be demonstrated for works other than the subgroup I have isolated.¹ For the Hermetic tradition related to Tractate 6, however, the concept of gnōsis is peripheral to the idea of salvific noēsis or "understanding." In this tradition the content of salvation is not secret knowledge. Rather, the words themselves are valued as theurgical and dynamic instruments for spiritual transformation--not a structural component of mythic doctrine.² The Hermetics of our tradition would probably argue against "Gnosticism" in the same way and for the same reasons as Plotinus in the *Enneads*, II.9.4-10. (Significantly, Plotinus does not call the proponents of the views he attacks "Gnostics.")

The word gnōsis occurs only once in Tractate 6, in reference to one of the aeonic "powers" (62.34; cf. gnōsis in C. H. XIII.8b as the first of the Decad of "powers"). The word noēsis, however, occurs three times and the verb noein six times, always in reference to the salvific process of the tractate.³ Then, while the tradition of Tractate 6 is certainly not Platonic (as I have maintained earlier in the chapter), neither can it be called Gnostic. Redemption is through a process of salvific noēsis, rather than doctrinaire gnōsis. To use a word I have coined, the tradition of Tractate 6 might best be designated as "noetic."

In comparison with C. H. XIII, Tractate 6 clearly follows the same

¹Cf. his evidence in *The Mysteries*, p. 24.

²Cf. *The Mysteries*, pp. 41-53 for some excellent examples of Gnostic theomanteia.

³On the other hand, gnōsis is an important concept in one of the Greek tracts I have related to Tractate 6, namely C. H. X, which is also called "The Key." Here the "key" to divine noēsis is the gnōsis of God. Gnōsis of the Good (C. H. X.5c) is, "a holy silence (σιῶσις) and voiding out (καταργία) every sensation." In other words, in C. H. X the "key" is gnōsis, but gnōsis is a term meaning Hermetic meditation. The salvific goal of Hermetic meditation was noēsis--"understanding" or "enlightenment."

general literary outline. They are both mystery liturgies following the pattern in C. H. I.24-26. In both tractates reference is made to Poimandres, yet the traditions differ. Tractate 6 follows a more dynamistic, invocational order, while C. H. XIII might be called more mechanistic and evocational. In C. H. XIII the student is elevated through the upward stations, while in Tractate 6 the "powers" are theurgically invoked and bidden to draw near. The vision of the Ogdoad is mediumistically seen "in" the student of Tractate 6 (59.27ff.). Tractate 6, then, seems to represent the same "type" of Hermetic practice as C. H. XIII and the tractates associated with it, but even within this subgroup it can be recognized as distinct. It stands unique in Hermetic tradition.

Tractate 6 seems to follow the paradigm of C. H. XIII, but adds esoteric ritual, such as use of the seven powerful vowels (56.15-20; 61.10-15), the dynamic Name of God (56.15,20), astrological and alchemical directives (61.25-62.20) and the presence of a communio sanctorum of "brothers" or pneumatic saints who are present as "energies" who aid other souls in their ascent (53.16-20). This latter addition in itself may indicate a life-setting in some sort of Gemeinde, as Reitzenstein speculated in 1904.¹

Tractate 6 is much more "particularistic" than C. H. XIII, being tied both to astrological time, and to geographical location. The student is told to write the scroll "in characters of a scribe of the House of Life" (i.e., in the Egyptian language) and deposit it in the Temple of Diospolis (61.19). Since Tractate 6 was discovered in a

¹Poimandres, p. 213.

library not far from Diospolis Magna (Thebes) or Diospolis Parva, written in a dialect of Coptic which is native to the area of both Diospolis, it seems likely that it represents the work of Hermetics native to Egypt. Furthermore, no internal or external evidence can be adduced that indicates the tractate was originally composed in Greek (unlike many of the other Nag Hammadi documents), so that it is possible the manuscript is associated with native Egyptian religious piety. If so, perhaps some of the speculation of Mead must be taken more seriously.¹

Whether the original language of Tractate 6 was Greek or Coptic, however, and regardless of whether Trismegistic eclecticism "originated" on Greek, Iranian or Egyptian soil, it is clear that our tractate is native to Upper Egypt. It points to the existence of a cult of Hermes Trismegistus sometime previous to A.D. 350 (when the extant copy was made), and seems to represent a slightly redacted cultic monument of what may have been a stenographic record of initiation. Although the name of the newborn Pneumatic has not been transmitted, the character of the document is too particularistic to have been paradigmatic "reading-mystery," applicable to all times and places.

The cult took the form of a school. Occult sciences and theurgical knowledge were considered to be part of savant Trismegistic work, just as they are in the writings of Zosimus, with whom the extant copy of Tractate 6 is roughly contemporary.

¹G. R. S. Mead, Thrice Greatest Hermes (London, 1906). Mead bases much of his theosophical speculation upon Pietschmann, Hermes Trismegistos, nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Überlieferungen (Leipzig, 1875), cf. Mead, Vol. I, p. 47.

A final point of interest lies in the observation that this Hermetic tractate, along with a Coptic version of the Asclepius, was found in a library alongside Valentinian and other Gnostic documents. There may be more to this than pure eclecticism. In 1935 C. H. Dodd¹ suggested that there might be a link between Hermetism and Valentinianism, that the author of Poimandres was Egyptian, and that his system of thought underlay that of Valentinus as the historically prior revelation. He thus dates Poimandres prior to Valentinus in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. It seems that a careful comparison of Gnostic and Hermetic monuments from the Nag Hammadi library is in order, since the scholar now has access to the worlds of thought characteristic of both movements in unadulterated form.

Finally, it may be possible to glean evidence to support Dodd's intuition that Hermetism existed prior to Gnosticism, and may have played an important role in Gnostic origins. If a tradition of esoteric Hermetic knowledge was transmitted in Egyptian priestly guilds and syncretized with Hellenistic science, its myth (exemplified in the Timaeus?) and soteriology (perhaps rooted in funerary science and philosophy underlying the Books of the Dead) may have made contact with early Christian thought in Alexandria, through the minds of such theosophists as Basilides, Isidore and Valentinus.

What, indeed, might have been the influences upon Jewish Gnosis as we find it in the writings of Philo? What of Menander and Simon Magus (or Megas? Cf. Acts 8.9-10, where Simon claims to be the dynamis of God

¹The Bible and the Greeks (London, 1935), pp. 208ff.

called Megas)?

It seems appropriate to end this study with questions, rather than answers.

Conclusion

Tractate 6 seems to represent an original Hermetic document composed in native Coptic in Upper Egypt sometime previous to A.D. 350. It purports to be sacred mnēmeia from the historical initiation of a Hermetic seeker into the status of a Pneumatic. Unlike the process of C. H. XIII, however, use is made of magical and theurgical techniques. The experience of Hermetic rebirth here appears more akin to what might be called a dynamistic spiritualism than the savant esotericism postulated by Festugière.¹ Again, it contains more empirical elements of theurgical and mystery traditions than Van Moorsel² would expect. Indeed, it seems to have closer relations to Gnostic than Platonic thought of the Hellenistic period.

A cultic tradition of some sort, probably as a school-tradition, is suggested by references to "the brothers"--Hermetic saints in or out of the body who assist in a sort of communio sanctorum with the education and initiation of seekers.

Tractate 6 exemplifies the Mystery Liturgy of Hermes Trismegistus as idealized in C. H. XIII, and probably points to the existence of a more general genre of Mystery Liturgy characteristic of the Roman-Hellenistic period.

The discovery of Tractate 6 demands a re-evaluation of the earlier

¹ L'Hermetism (op. cit.), p. 5ff.

² The Mysteries (op. cit.), p. 57

rejected views of scholars like Reitzenstein,¹ who regarded Hermetic tradition as native Egyptian syncretistic cultism.

¹Poimandres (op. cit.), p. 177ff.

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Dirkse, Peter. "Introduction to Tractate 6, Codex VI," cited in my translation notes as, "Introduction."

Dirkse, Peter. CG VI, 52, 1-63, 32, his collation of the Coptic text. This was not cited in the dissertation, but was used as a working tool for my own collation.

Robinson, James. "Inside the Front Cover of Codex VI," December 30, 1971. This is cited fully in my first chapter.